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THE TRUE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO

HERNANDO CORTES FROM AN ENGRAVING AFTER THE TITIAN PORTRAIT.

The True History
OF THE
Conquest of Mexico

Written in the Year 1568 by

CAPTAIN BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO,
ONE OF THE CONQUERORS,
and translated from the Original Spanish
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With an Introduction by
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ILLUSTRATED

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Introduction

STOUT, old Bernal Diaz del Castillo may have been a good soldier—he very ingenuously says that he was; he certainly was an excellent chronicler. Without his "Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España" we should know nothing of the more intimate aspects of one of the world's most dramatic episodes. We should have no sources of first-hand information on the day-to-day experiences of the men who waded through blood and agony to the greatest achievement of militant Spain. We should have no picture, self-painted, of the veritable Conquistador, cruel, faithful, superstitious, lustful, generous, avaricious. We should have to rest our conception of the destruction of the Aztec Empire upon the three surviving letters of the four which Cortes wrote to Charles V: reports of a general who had placed himself in a difficult position politically, a creature of intrigue who was become the target for various intrigues launched by other colonial officers, jealous of his success, and who was therefore, compelled to twist and turn, to exaggerate, prevaricate, distort and dissemble, in his efforts to retain command of the expedition and satisfy the vaulting demands of his personal ambition.

Cortes, like all conquerors, was a confirmed egotist. His reports were designed to emphasize his value to his sovereign, and he was careful not to put forward his lieutenants lest one of them be selected to supplant him. What he deemed unfavorable to his own interests he suppressed; points which he considered advantageous he elaborated. Then, a few years after his death, appeared the formal history of the Conquest written by Gomara, who had been his chaplain and retained that post in the household of his son, Don Martin. Valuable as this work undoubtedly is, based

on the statements and vanished papers of the first Marquis of the Valley, and probably checked by the oral traditions of other members of the family, it is marred by a sycophancy and untruthfulness which extort from Bernal Diaz the comment: "Where he has written eighty thousand, we should read one thousand."

Gomara's history evidently was the last straw to Bernal Diaz, who had nursed for years a very human resentment against the prevailing idea that the Conquest was the work of Cortes alone, the product of a superman's genius, although, apart from this, he retained for his old general an unblemished affection and admiration. So he sat himself down in the royal audencia of the city of Guatemala, in the year 1568—that is, some fifty years after the events of the Conquest—and addressed himself to the novel task of inscribing his recollections in accordance with this simple creed: "I say also that Cortes did everything that ought to be expected from a wise and valiant general, and that he owed his success, under God, to the stout and valiant captains, and to us brave soldiers, who broke the force of the enemy, and supported him by fighting in the manner we fought, and as I have related."

There spoke a Sixteenth Century democrat! In fact, it is impossible to read Bernal Diaz without perceiving that the expedition to Mexico was essentially democratic in its organization and methods of operation. Cortes, despite his commission from the Governor of Cuba, was really no more than the elected chief of his little army. He reported to a soldiers' council, was advised and criticized by his captains, treated his followers as brethren in adventure and was treated by them as one placed over them on suffrance. "Señors"—gentlemen—he called his men; and those of whom he was fondest or in whom he placed special trust were "Son Sandoval" and "Brother Bernal Diaz." Had he ever failed definitely, had a majority of his company lost confidence in him, he must have been deposed at once. He

was respected and obeyed merely because he was able to prove that he was the one amongst them most fitted to command.

This feeling of military democracy was the inspiration of Spain's golden age, the key to the amazing exploits the Spaniards performed in the New World. While it burned, hot and clear, in the hearts of the young hidalgos and rugged peasantry of Castile, who formed the backbone of the American enterprises, the Spanish power flourished. When it commenced to flicker and die, under the dead weight of aristocratical and clerical inertia, the term of Spain's empire was set, notwithstanding several centuries should pass before the bulky edifice collapsed, rotted from porch to architrave by the arrogance and bigotry bred of democratic success.

To understand it you must cross the Atlantic and survey the Spain that produced Bernal Diaz, Alvarado, Martin Lopez, the shipman, and the rest of the three thousand, who, first and last, fought under Cortes' banner. For eight hundred years this Spain had battled to curb the Moors. War, unending war, was the national life. Generation succeeded generation in the struggle, which was waged bitterly, ferociously, with a recurrent rhythm as inevitable as fate. All men were soldiers. And partly because of this, partly because ages of contact with the Moors had infected the Spaniards with a measure of the tribal spirit their enemies had brought from Arabia, there developed a strong instinct for cooperative effort. Where all were soldiers all were equal under the sovereign. One hiladgo was as good as another hidalgo. In the swift forays of Moorish warfare individual initiative was at a premium, and the best man was nominated to lead.

It was a wonderful school for fighting-men, who, of necessity, must raise up fighting-men to take their places. The fathers of the Conquistadors, themselves Conquistadors, had only just crushed the last Moorish princes in El Andalus when the Genoese navigator, Cristóbal Colón, discovered,

as he thought, an unknown part of Asia. For the first time in eight centuries Spain had no enemy in her midst—and her younger fighting-men, reared to the sword, possessing no other means of livelihood, found their occupation gone, their country exhausted and impoverished, unable to support itself by peaceful arts, thanks to the slaughter or expulsion of the Moorish farmers and artisans who had been the chief element in producing its wealth. Young Spain hailed this new land as a godsend. The dependent relatives of every noble family turned their faces restlessly toward the west; discontented farm lads and village wastrels hastened to enlist in the expeditions that fitted out for Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica and the mysterious Main.

Better a venture beyond the sunset, most of them felt, than service under the Great Captain, Gonzalo de Córdoba, in Italy, the only opportunity for military experience the period afforded at home. For your true daredevil could estimate quite justly the chance of fame or booty awaiting him in Europe; but the untrodden shores the caravels had coasted contained a kingdom, a province, a mountain of gold, for every lean-pursed youngster who took ship from Palos or Cadiz. So it was no accident that listed amongst Cortes' followers a Puertocarrero, a Ponce de Leon, a de Soto, scions of families that had been famous in all the wars of El Andalus. But—and mark this well!—a Puertocarerro, cousin to the Count of Medellin, was not counted superior to a Bernal Diaz, saving he had demonstrated himself braver or shrewder. Birthproud to an absurd degree, these emigrants were arrant democrats. Good blood entailed an increased obligation rather than a right to any peculiar privilege. And the readiness of Cortes to ignore this obligation, to take care that he profited immensely while his soldiers went unrewarded, was what galled Bernal Diaz. He leaves you in no doubt that according to his views Cortes failed to act as became an hidalgo and a great soldier.

But our Conquistador is entirely fair in his strictures on

his leader. Praise balances blame. Indeed, the finest quality of this chronicle is the good temper with which controversial matters are discussed. Cortes the soldier, Cortes the politician, Cortes the man, each aspect of his general Bernal Diaz presents with scrupulous exactitude. He loves Cortes. He can both admire and condemn. Never once does he lose touch with the actuality of his subject, and in consequence he projects an extraordinarily plausible personality, full-rounded and appealing by reason of the very failings and frailties he assails, infinitely more persuading, more understandable, than the Cortes reflected in the three voluminous letters to Charles V. And for all the naïve superstition and medieval brutality constantly to the fore in his record, he manages to strike an odd note of modernity, with his spontaneous admiration for a brave enemy, his denunciation of the torturing and execution of Guatimoctzin, his rude conception of honor, his relentless endeavor to be equitable in his judgments.

Of the sources for the Conquest he is the soundest, and, I think, the most interesting. There is nothing polished or literary about him, but that constitutes his charm. You are meeting face to face a veritable Conquistador. His pages quiver with life, raw, angry, painful, appalling. Himself he strides forth of the type to meet you, a grizzled, ruddy-cheeked, rough-spoken ancient, curt in manner, opinionated, aggressive, narrowly religious, childishly vain, lion-hearted. You cannot help liking him and laughing at him and his swaggering boasts of the hundred and nineteen battles he had fought, his casual practice of dressing his wounds with strips of fat cut with his sword from a dead Indian's rump, his formal piety, his pungent estimates of human nature, his offhand references to the savage and lustful practices he took for granted, his persistent refusal to magnify exploits he regarded as too colossal to require exaggeration.

Even his limitations carry conviction. As Prescott says:

"In reading his pages, we feel that whatever are the

errors into which he has fallen, from oblivion of ancient transactions or from unconscious vanity—of which he had full measure—or from credulity, there is nowhere a wilful perversion of truth. Had he attempted it, indeed, his very simplicity would have betrayed him."

He is more often right than wrong, however, cautious in using figures and judicious in narrating incidents. For instance, where Cortes, eager to convince Charles of the merit of his services, claims 75,000 allies from Tlascala at the final siege of Tenochtitlan, Bernal Diaz tots them up to three xiquipuls, 24,000 men. And in describing the Aztecs' losses during the siege, he avoids quoting definite numbers, contenting himself with the remark that "I have read of the destruction of Jerusalem, but I cannot conceive that the mortality exceeded this of Mexico; for all the people from the distant provinces which belonged to this empire had concentrated themselves here, where they mostly died"—a statement which Prescott and others deride, although, if once you concede anything approaching the population the chroniclers assert for Aztec Mexico, it is conceivable that upwards of a million people collected in a municipal area which was likened to Venice, Cordova or Seville. Cortes writes to Charles that 40,000 were slain or taken in a single day, and says elsewhere that 50,000 died of disease and hunger.

Again, Cortes dismisses the sorry catastrophe of the Noche Triste in a sentence, and slides over the disastrous fighting which preceded it. He was not to blame for the plight in which he found himself after his return to Tenochtitlan, and it is difficult to see how he could have avoided the misfortunes incident to the retreat. But he seems to have been unwilling to admit in writing the losses he sustained. Bernal Diaz, on the other hand, dealing with the same events, tells the plain truth, which is distinctly to the credit of Cortes, who, after losing eight hundred and fifty out of thirteen hundred and ten men, all his cannon, all his arquebusses, all

his gunpowder, most of his crossbows and most of his horses, was yet able to extricate himself from the Aztec hordes and with cold steel win his most notable battle at Otumba, while his men were still bleeding from the wounds they had received in slashing their escape across the broken causeways.

A marvelous story! And Bernal Diaz conveys it to you adequately because he is so artlessly sincere as to trench upon the preserves of art. Where will you find a more sympathetic sketch of a commander than he gives of Cortes? And in reading of the fight with Narvaez, in Cempoal, you sense and see, with startling authenticity, the steaming tropic darkness, the intermittent showers and moonshine and the cocuyo beetles that flickered over the ranks and made Cortes' enemies believe a stalwart array of musketeers were tramping up the street between the white-walled palaces and temples. When he tells of Donna Marina's meeting with the mother who had sold her into slavery he unconsciously limns a portrait of himself, no less vivid than the impression he conveys of the character of the extraordinary woman, who was for a time Cortes' mistress and wrought more for the conqueror than either of the colorless wives he found in Cuba and Old Spain. Consider, too, the conclusion of his description of the invaders' first arrival on the outskirts of the Aztec capital: "When I beheld the scenes that were around me, I thought within myself that this was the garden of the world! But all is destroyed, and that which was a lake is now a tract of fields of Indian corn, and so entirely altered that the natives themselves could hardly know it."

He was not insensible to the tragedy implicit in his comrades' achievements, this rough, gruff, old Conquistador.

Once in a while, in his frank, ingenuous way, he thrusts a torch into the blurred medley of Indian mishaps and rivalries that smoothed the Spaniards' path, as when he remarks innocently how, after Cortes was driven from Tenochtitlan, in the summer of 1520, and retired to Tlascala to recuperate,

the smallpox became so prevalent that "many of the great lords of the natives died of it," including the Aztec Emperor Coadlavaca, who had succeeded Montezuma, and Maxicatzin, one of the princes of the Tlascalans, the Spaniards' allies. He speaks of this outbreak of smallpox solely because it required Cortes to settle several disputes over the succession to lordships. Perhaps he was ignorant of the fact that the Indians had never been exposed to the disease previously, and that its ordinary virulence was increased a thousand fold amongst such unsalted barbarians. Certainly, he seems to have had no appreciation of the influence the scourge must have exerted in the Spaniards' favor. But with our presentday knowledge we may be justified in surmising that it very possibly furnished the last fillip necessary to reduce the offensive strength of the Aztecs to a point which rendered hopeless their fight for freedom. It is no reflection upon the generalship of Cortes or upon the sturdy valor of his troops to say that they succeeded as much through the divisions and calamities of their foes as through their own endeavors.

The Spaniards, as Bernal Diaz makes evident, were not so efficiently equipped as we moderns usually suppose. Very few possessed armor; three fourths of them were contented with a pike or sword and buckler. The captains had morions, and usually, a breastplate or half-armor. Here and there you might find a fellow with a leathern jack. Of the five hundred and eight soldiers who sailed with Cortes, sixteen fought on horseback, with sword and lance; thirteen owned arquebusses and thirty-two were crossbowmen, a number of these latter being Italians, a race at that time as noted for skill with the arbalest as the English yeomanry were with the longbow. A certain number, unspecified, were detailed to serve the artillery, an arm with which Cortes was unusually well-supplied; he had originally ten brass field-pieces, very small ones, of course, and four falconets, weapons not much larger than blunderbusses. So much for

"the iron conquerors" of poem and story! It was pikemen and sworders, shoulder to shoulder, using the point, who won the victory—with the very substantial aid of Indian allies, who hated the Aztecs worse than the white invaders.

One of the things I like about Bernal Diaz is that he conveys the psychology of the man in the ranks. In the letters of Cortes there is no note of individual and mass effort, no inkling of the fears and misgivings of the soldiers. They are formal narrations of victory, centering skilfully around the personality of the leader. Cortes writes of triumphs gained by Cortes and his army; Bernal Diaz describes how the army Cortes commanded won its battles and surmounted its obstacles, specifying with meticulous accuracy the performance of any soldier of outstanding fame. His memory for details is so extraordinary that some sceptics have doubted its value, even questioned his existence, for the reason that his name does not appear amongst the four hundred and forty-four signatures to the letter addressed to Charles V by the officers and soldiers of the army, petitioning the Emperor to continue Cortes in command. The answer to this is that the army's letter was drafted at the time, in the fall of 1520, when he was sick—in his own words ,"being ill of a fever, and throwing up blood at the mouth."

As to the question of his memory, it should be recalled that he was a very old man when he wrote his history. He says that he left his birthplace, Medina del Campo of Old Castile, in 1514, when he probably was not more than eighteen. This would make him seventy-two at the commencement of his chronicle, and seventy-six at its conclusion "on this twenty sixth day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and seventy two." Throughout the years since the Conquest he must have devoted much consideration to the epochal events of his youth. The Conquistadors were all marked men, a class apart, about whom rapidly developed a legendary interest, to whom all classes

looked up with a reverence almost superstitious. Wherever they went they were urged to recount their reminiscences.

For half a century, Bernal Diaz had talked and thought of the stupendous period which witnessed the destruction of the Indian empire. Whenever he encountered a fellow Conquistador they would sit and patch their memories together, and all folk within reach, great and humble, would gather to listen to them. By 1568, when he started to write, there were but five men alive of those who had sailed from Cuba in the original expedition—"and we are very old, and bowed down with infirmities, and very poor, and with a heavy charge of sons to provide for, and of daughters to marry off, and grandchildren to maintain, and little rent to do it withal! and thus we pass our lives, in pain, in labor and in sorrow."

He regarded himself as the spokesman of his dead comrades. No one else had told their story. Except for Martin Lopez, a man named Granado and two he does not name, the other Conquistadors were gone, and the record of their deeds buried with them. So he set himself, with the patient determination of an old man immersed in his subject, to whom time was become no more than a shadow crouched at his shoulder, to write out all that had occurred as he had happened to see it or hear of it, distributing praise and blame with an even hand in the perspective of the years. The result is the most attractive historical document of its kind in any European language, as absorbing today as it was when, having passed the scrutiny of the Council of the Indies and the clerical authorities, it was first published in 1632, long, long after our Conquistador had been interred in some forgotten cemetery of Guatamala City.

Strange to think that his blood may course today in the veins of mouldering Central American families, even as the blood of Montezuma runs diluted in many grandees of Spain and in innumerable bronzed Indios of the Mexican uplands—albeit the last recognized descendant of the Aztec

Emperor, through his son Io Emalicahua, rechristened by the Spaniards Don Pedro, who wedded a Spanish lady and founded the great house of the Counts of Montezuma,—of whom one was Viceroy of Mexico from 1697-1701,—committed suicide in New Orleans about one hundred years ago, aged and poverty-stricken and a prey to grief because the Mexicans would not recognize him as Emperor in succession to the ill-fated Iturbide. An ill land for Emperors, Mexico. Conquistadors thrive better in its ageless atmosphere of blood and hate and racial strife, where Huitzilopochtli, God of War, sways men's hearts as potently as ever he did four centuries past.

ARTHUR D. HOWDEN SMITH.

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Translator's Note to the First Edition London, 1800

The author frequently mistakes dates; it has been therefore judged necessary to insert them in the heads of chapters according to the most correct accounts.

Preface

I BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, regidor of this loyal city of Guatimala, and author of the following most true history, during the time I was writing the same, happened to see a work composed by Francisco Lopez de Gomara, the elegance of which made me blush for the vulgarity of my own, and throw down my pen in despair. But when I had read it, I found that the whole was a misrepresentation, and also that in his extraordinary exaggerations of the numbers of the natives, and of those who were killed in the different battles, his account was utterly unworthy of belief. We never much exceeded four hundred men, and if we had found such numbers bound hand and foot, we could not have put them to death. But the fact was, we had enough to do to protect ourselves, for I vow to God, and say Amen thereto, that we were every day repeating our prayers, and supplicating to be delivered from the perils that surrounded us. Alaric a most brave king, and Attila a proud warrior, never killed so many of their foes as we are said by that historian to have done in New Spain. He also says we burned many cities and temples; and this he does to astonish his reader; not seeming to recollect that any of the true conquerors existed, to contradict him. He also enhances the merit of one officer at the expence of another; speaking of some as captains who were not with us.

He says that Cortes gave orders, secretly, for the destruction of the ships; whereas it was done by the common consent of all, to have the assistance of the mariners. He also depreciates Juan de Grijalva most unjustly; he being a very valiant captain. He omits the discovery of Yucatan by De Cordova, and is in an error again when he speaks of the

first expedition of Garray, as if Garray had come with it. In what concerns the defeat of Narvaez, his account is conformable to the relations given; but in that of the wars of Tlascala he is as erroneous as ever. As to the war in Mexico, where we lost above eight hundred and seventy soldiers, this he treats as a matter of little importance; and he makes no mention of our losses in the subsequent siege, but speaks of it as if it had been a festival, or a marriage! but why should I waste paper and ink in the detection of his numerous errors; I will therefore proceed with my relation, for according to what the wise say, the art and beauty of historical composition is, to write the truth; and proceeding upon this rule, with such embellishment and ornament as I shall hereafter judge expedient, I will relate and bring into full light the conquest of New Spain, and the heroic services of us the true conquerors, who with our small numbers, under the adventurous and brave Captain Hernando Cortes, and with great danger and hardships, gained to his Majesty this rich country; for which service his Majesty has frequently issued his orders that we should be amply rewarded. Moreover, as a good pilot sounds, and discovers shoals and sands as he proceeds, by the lead and line, so will I, with my pen in my hand, expose misrepresentations, in my voyage through the history of Gomara, to the haven of truth; but if I were to point out every error, the chaff would outweigh the grain.

My relation will give to historians sufficient whereby to celebrate our general, Cortes, and the brave conquerors by whose hands this holy and great undertaking succeeded, for this is no history of distant nations, nor vain reveries; I relate that of which I was an eye witness, and not idle reports and hearsay: for truth is sacred. Gomara received and wrote such accounts as were intended to enhance the fame and merit of Cortes; no mention being made by him of our valiant captains and soldiers; and the whole tenor of the work shews how much he was influenced by his attachment

to that family by whom he and his are patronised. He has also misled the Doctor Illescas, and Bishop Paulus Jovius.

The following history I have brought to its conclusion, in the loyal city of Guatimala, the residence of the royal court of audience, on this twenty sixth day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and seventy two.

THE TRUE HISTORY
OF THE
CONQUEST OF MEXICO

PART THE FIRST

The True History
OF THE
Conquest of Mexico.

PART THE FIRST.

Chapter i.

Expedition of Hernandez de Cordova. A. D. 1517.

In the year 1514, I left Castille in company with Pedro Arias de Avila, who was then appointed governor of Tierra Firma, with whom I arrived at the port of Nombre de Dios. A pestilence raged at that time, of which many soldiers died, and most of the survivors were invalids. The governor P. A. De Avila had a jealousy which terminated fatally, with an Hidalgo who had conquered that province, of which he was Captain: his name was Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a rich man, and to whom Avila had married his Daughter; but being afterwards suspicious that his Son-in-law had an intention of revolting, he caused him to be beheaded.

When we saw that troubles were likely to ensue, and learned that the Island of Cuba had been lately gained under the government of Diego Velasquez, a certain number of us, persons of quality who had come with Avila, resolved to demand his permission to go to Cuba. This he readily granted us; not wanting so many soldiers as had come with him from Castille, for the country of which he was appointed to the government, had but few inhabitants, and was already conquered. Permission being obtained we sailed for Cuba, and arriving there, waited on the governor, who received us kindly, and promised to give us the first lands that should

fall vacant. Three years however elapsed, reckoning from the time we left Castille, and no settlements had as yet offered. Considering this therefore as so much loss of time, one hundred and ten of us elected for our Captain a rich Hidalgo of Cuba named Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, and determined to set out under his command, upon a voyage of discovery. For this purpose we bought two vessels of considerable burthen, and our third was a bark which we obtained on credit from the governor Velasquez; he however proposed as a condition, that we should engage the soldiers to make a descent on certain Islands between Cuba and Honduras, named Los Guanages, to seize a number of the inhabitants and make slaves of them, in order thereby to pay the cost of the bark; but when the proposal of Velasquez was made known to the soldiers, we to a man refused it, saying, that it was not just, nor did God or the King permit, that free men should be made slaves.

Velasquez was immediately convinced, and assented to the justice of what we said, and he gave us also what assistance he could as to provisions. We laid in a store of Hogs, which were then sold at three Crowns each, and Cassava bread, there being in Cuba neither Oxen or Sheep. With such poor provisions, and some trifling Toys and Ornaments for the Indians, we prepared ourselves for the voyage, having engaged three Pilots, the principal of whom was Anthon de Alaminos, a native of Palos; the other two were named Camacho de Triana, and Juan Alvarez el Manquillo de Huelva. Having provided ourselves as well as we could with every necessary, we all assembled at a port on the North of the Island, eight leagues from the town of St. Christopher, the settlers of which were two years after removed to the Havannah. This port is called in the language of Cuba, Agaruco. That our expedition might be conducted on proper principles, we persuaded a Clergyman of that town named Alonzo Gonzales, to accompany us, and we also chose for Veedor a soldier named Bernardino Iniguez, that in case

Gold should happen to fall in our way, the proper Officer might be at hand, to take care of his Majesty's rights.

On the eighth of February 1517, having recommended ourselves to God, and the blessed Virgin, we sailed from the port of Agaruco, and in twelve days passed St. Anton, otherwise called the land of the Guanatareyes, a tribe of savages. Doubling this Point, we sailed at hazard towards that part of the Horizon where the Sun set, utterly ignorant of shallows, currents, or prevailing winds. During our voyage a storm came on, and for two days and two nights we were in the most imminent danger; the wind however subsided, and in twenty-one days from our leaving the Island of Cuba, we saw land which had never before been discovered. We also on approaching perceived a large town, at the distance of two leagues from the coast, which from its size, it exceeding any town in Cuba we named Grand Cairo. The smallest Vessel was then ordered to approach and examine the neighbouring coast.

On the morning of the fourth of March, five Canoes came off to us. These vessels are like troughs, made of one entire tree, and many of them capable of containing fifty men. We made signals of invitation to those on board, with which they readily complied, not shewing the least apprehension. Above thirty entered the principal vessel, where they were treated with such provisions as we could give them, and each was presented with a string of green beads. After admiring the vessels for some time their chief desired to return, saying that he would on the ensuing day come again to us with more Canoes, in order to bring us to land. These Indians wore close dresses of cotton, their waists being girded with a narrow cloth; in which, we observed that they exhibited more sense of decency than the natives of Cuba, with whom this dress was used by the women only. On the ensuing day, the same chief came with twelve large Canoes, and made signals to our Captain that he would bring us to land. This he expressed by saying,

"Con-Escotoch," "Con-Escotoch," which signifies, come to our town: and it was from this that we gave it the name of Punta de Cotoche. It was determined by us to accept the invitation, observing the proper precaution of going all in a body, and by one embarkation, as we perceived the shore to be lined with Indians. We therefore hoisted out our own boats, and in them, with twelve Canoes brought to us by the chief, and our smallest vessel we proceeded to the land. On arriving there we halted for a time to consider what should be done, but the Cacique or Chief still urging us by signs to advance, we proceeded in good order, with fifteen cross-bows and ten musquets, the chief guiding us, and accompanied by a number of the natives. On a sudden, as we passed by some thick woods, the Cacique began to call out loudly to a body of Indians which he had posted there in ambuscade; they sallied out upon us at the signal, and poured in a discharge of arrows, whereby they wounded fifteen of our soldiers.

These warriors were armed with thick coats of cotton, and carried, besides their bows and arrows, lances, shields and slings; they also wore ornaments of feathers on their heads. Having discharged their arrows they advanced, and attacked us with their lances, but the keenness of our swords and the effect of our cross-bows and musquetry soon drove them to a distance, with the loss of fifteen left dead upon the spot. Near the place of this ambuscade were three buildings of lime and stone, wherein were idols of clay with diabolical countenances, and in strange unnatural postures, and several wooden chests which contained similar idols but smaller, some vessels, three diadems, and some imitations of birds and fishes in alloyed gold. The buildings of lime and stone, and the gold gave us a high idea of the Country we had discovered. On our return to the shore we had the satisfaction to find, that while we were fighting, our chaplain Gonzales had taken care of the chests and their contents, which he had with the assistance of two Indians

of Cuba brought off safely to our ships. In this action we made two natives prisoners, who were afterwards baptized, and called by the names of Melchor, and Julian. Having re-embarked, we proceeded as before, coasting towards the West.

After fifteen days cautious sailing by an unknown coast, we discovered from our ships a large town with an inlet which was apparently a River. This place we named from the day on which we discovered it, which was Sunday of Lazarus; and here we determined to endeavour to procure water, of which we were in want, owing to the badness of our casks, our limited means not enabling us to purchase proper vessels for that purpose. As the tides run very far out, we left our large ships a league's distance from the shore, and proceeding thither well armed, came to the water which supplied the town; for in this Country as far as we could observe, there are no running streams. Here we filled our casks, and just as we had finished, about fifty Indians dressed in cotton mantles and to all appearance chiefs, approached us, enquiring by signs what we wanted; to which we replied in the same manner, that we came for water, and were returning to our vessels. They then pointed to the East, by way of asking if we came from that quarter, repeating several times the word "Castillan"; after which they invited us to their town, to which we proceeded with them, and arrived at some large, and very well constructed buildings of lime and stone, with figures of serpents and of idols painted upon the walls. When we entered these temples, for such they were, we perceived about one of the altars traces of blood fresh spilled; there were also several idolatrous figures and symbols, all which contributed to impress us with surprise and horror. During this time the Indians behaved peaceably, but collected in great numbers, which put us upon our guard though they appeared only to be attracted by curiosity. A body of natives soon appeared, dressed in very ragged mantles, and each bearing a bundle of dry reeds, which hav-

ing deposited together, they retired. After them came two bodies of warriors, each commanded by its captain, who drew them up opposite to us; immediately after which, ten priests rushed out of an adjoining temple. They were dressed in loose robes of white cotton, their long hair was clotted with blood, and matted and twisted together so as to be apparently impossible to be separated; they had in their hands vessels containing fire and aromatics, with which they fumigated us, making signs at the same time, that unless we quitted their Country before the fuel lying by us was consumed, they would put us to death. They then kindled the faggots, and retired without doing any thing more. The warriors however began to make a noise by whistling, sounding their horns, and drums. These formidable preparations made us think it most prudent to retire, which we accordingly did, and regaining our boats on board of which the water casks had been already put, we embarked, and reaching our vessels, proceeded on our voyage. We coasted for six days, during which time we encountered a violent gale of wind from the North, and were in imminent danger of being driven on shore. We also suffered from want of water, owing to the badness of the vessels, and were constantly obliged to go on shore and sink wells, in order to procure a daily supply. Continuing our route, we arrived opposite a town about a league from the coast, which we determined to proceed to, and for that purpose cast anchor.

This town the name of which was Pontonchan, contained several buildings of lime and stone, and was surrounded by fields of maize. Having landed and found a spring of water, while we were engaged in filling our casks, large bodies of warriors approached us in silence; they were armed with their usual missile weapons, shields, and two handed swords. Their bodies were covered by a defensive armour of cotton reaching to the knees, their faces painted black, white, and red, and plumes of feathers ornamented their heads. They accosted us in the same manner that the na-

tives of Campeche had done, pointing to the East and saying "Castillan, Castillan," we replied to them by signs that we came from the East, but were much perplexed to know the meaning of this expression, or whether to construe it favorably or otherwise; and as we meant to remain on shore, for the night, we formed ourselves into a body, and kept a good watch in every direction; being also occupied in consulting upon the arrangement of our future movements. During this time we heard a great noise among the Indians, which we considered as portending us no good. Some of us were for embarking, but that was considered too dangerous to attempt in the face of the enemy, others were for attacking them, on the old principle that he who makes the first attack conquers; but we had at least three hundred to encounter, for each one of us, and this was considered too rash. While thus occupied, day broke, and gave us a sight of our danger. We comforted each other with hopes of God's mercy, and each determined to exert himself to the utmost. We soon perceived great bodies of warriors advancing, with colours flying, and joining themselves to those who had assembled on the preceding night. They then enclosed us on all sides, fighting with us foot to foot, and wounded above ten of our soldiers; the execution however of our fire arms and swords made them draw off a little, but it was only to use their arrows to more effect. They continually cried out, "Al Calachioni," or shoot at the captain; in consequence, he received no less than twelve arrows. I also got three for my share, one of which, in my left side, was very dangerous, and two of our soldiers they carried off alive; one was named Alonzo Bote, the other was an old Portuguese. Our captain seeing that all our exertions to drive them off were ineffectual, that the enemy were continually receiving supplies, while we had above fifty of our number killed, determined to endeavour to cut his way through them. This we effected, being formed into a compact body; but they pursued us at our heels, attacking us with their lances, and with showers of

arrows. We however reached our boats, but it was only to encounter new difficulties; the hurry and pressure to embark was such, that the boats were sunk, and we were forced, half wading, and half swimming, to endeavour to reach the small vessel, which came as far as possible to our assistance; our soldiers received many wounds, while in and about the boats, and it was with the utmost difficulty that any of us escaped with our lives. On counting our numbers when we arrived on board the ships, we found that our loss amounted to fifty-seven. This action lasted above half an hour. In the marine charts this bay is named "De Mala pelea." Our wounds after a little time became very painful, from the cold and sea water, and we began to grow very much out of humour with the pilot Alaminos, and his discoveries. He still however persisted in his original opinion, and in denying that this land was a continent.

One soldier only of those who survived had escaped unwounded; most of us had three or four wounds, our captain twelve. The mariners also were many of them disabled; for which reason we burned our smallest vessel, and divided her crew between the others. But I have yet to mention the greatest misfortune that attended us. In the hurry to escape from the natives, we had been forced to leave our casks behind. The thirst we endured in consequence thereof, during the time that we were at sea was such that our very tongues and lips cracked: Such cruel hardships attend those who go on voyages of discovery! After three days sail, we perceived an inlet which we concluded would lead to a river or some fresh water; fifteen mariners and three soldiers entered to examine it, but what water they found was all salt, even where they sunk pits on the shore, and when they returned with it, distressing as our thirst was we found it undrinkable. We called this the inlet of alligators, from the number of those animals seen there. The reigning winds of North and North East at this time increased to a storm which we fortunately weathered, and then, having determined to

return to the Havannah, by the advice of Alaminos we ran for the coast of Florida, which by his maps, his degrees, and altitudes, he found to be distant about seventy leagues. With this navigation he was well acquainted, having been in that country in a voyage of discovery with Juan Ponce de Leon, ten or twelve years before. Accordingly, having sailed for four days across the gulf, we discovered that part of the coast of America to which we were bound.

When we approached the coast, the first object with us was to obtain a supply of water. Our captain, from his wounds and sufferings by thirst, was sinking hourly; on his account therefore and our own, twenty of us, of which number I was one, went on shore with the casks. The pilot Alaminos warned us to be prepared against a sudden attack of the natives, who had in that manner fallen on him, in his former visit to this coast. We accordingly put a good guard in an open place near the shore, and proceeded to make wells, in which to our great satisfaction we found excellent water. We stayed about an hour steeping cloths in it, and washing our wounds, and this delay enabled the Indians to fall on us; for at the expiration of that period, one of our out centinels came to give us the alarm of their approach, a few moments only before they appeared. These Indians were very tall of stature, and were clothed in the skins of animals. They assailed us with a flight of arrows, with which they wounded six of us, and myself among the rest. We however beat them off, and they then went to support another body of their countrymen, who, in their canoes, had attacked and seized our boat, and were dragging it away with them, having wounded the pilot Alaminos, and four of the mariners. We followed them close, and wading above our middles in the water, rescued the boat, leaving in all twenty-two of them dead, and three who were slightly wounded, we made prisoners; these however died in the voyage. After the natives were beaten off, we enquired of the soldier who brought the report of the enemy, what had become of his companion;

he said that a short time before, he saw him go towards the water side with a hatchet in his hand, to cut a palmita; that he shortly after heard him cry out as he supposed when the enemy were putting him to death, and therefore he gave the alarm, the Indians appearing immediately after. This soldier was named Berrio: he was the only person who escaped without a wound in Pontonchan. We went in search of him, and found the plant which he had begun to cut, and the sand much trodden, but no trace of blood: of course we concluded that he had been carried off alive. After searching for the space of an hour we gave him up, and returned to the vessels with the water, which, when our companions saw, they knew no moderation in their joy. One man in particular leaped into the boat when it came along-side the vessel, and seizing a cask of water, did not stop drinking until he died.

We then proceeded on our voyage by some low Islands named Los Baxos de los Martires, where the vessel on board which our captain was struck ground, and in consequence took in so much water that she was near sinking; indeed we feared that our utmost exertions in pumping could not bring her into port. There were as I recollect two sailors of the Levant on board: when we called to them to assist us in pumping they replied, "facetelo vos! Do it yourselves!" At this time we were exhausted by fatigue, and the vessel in the most imminent danger of sinking: however we forced them to give us their assistance, though unwillingly: and by our exertions, with the blessing of God, we arrived safely at Puerto de Carenas, where is now built the city of the Havannah.

On our arrival an express was forwarded to the Governor D. Velasquez, to inform him that we had discovered a Country where the houses were built of lime and stone, and the inhabitants decently clad; that they sowed maize, and possessed gold. Our captain went immediately to his estate near Santi Spiritus, where he died in ten days after his arrival.

Three soldiers also died of their wounds in the Havannah, and the rest dispersed to their different homes or avocations. The fame of our discovery was spread through the Islands by the vessels on their arrival. When the figures and idols which they brought were produced, it was believed that they were antiques conveyed to those countries by a Jewish colony, after the destruction of their city by Titus and Vespasian. Our Indian prisoners on being asked if their country produced gold, replied in the affirmative, which is contrary to fact, as has been since well ascertained. The name which that part of the continent now acquired, was owing to an equivocal expression or mistake of words. Yuca is the Insular name of the plant made use of for bread, the heap of earth in which it is planted is called by these people, Tale; on being questioned relative to it, they saying they knew it, and using this word with its signification in their language, the two repeated together made the word Yuca-tal, or Yucatan as it was expressed by the Spaniards, and ever after remained applied to that part of America. Such was all that the soldiers gained by this discovery, from which we came back, poor and wounded, and thought those fortunate who had reached their homes alive, for our loss from first to last amounted to seventy of our number. Diego Velasquez wrote to his patron the Bishop of Burgos relating the particulars of his discovery and the expences he had been at, for all which he obtained fame and credit with his Majesty, but not a syllable was said of the poor soldiers who had expended their properties, and lost, or risqued, their lives in the expedition.

Three soldiers of us whose object was to reach the town of Trinidad, as soon as our wounds were healed, agreed with an inhabitant of the Havannah who was going thither in a canoe with the cargo of cotton to sell, for our passage, for which he was to be paid ten crowns in gold. Accordingly we embarked with him, and after coasting for eleven days, we arrived near an Indian town named Canarreon, where we

were driven on shore by a violent gale of wind. The canoe was dashed to pieces, and we with difficulty reached the land, naked, wounded, and bruised, by the violence of the waves. We had no resource but in the clothing adopted by the first pair, and in the same wood where we procured this, we found a species of tough flexible roots called Bejucos, with which we tied on our feet sandals made of the bark of trees, which we cut out for that purpose with sharp stones; and travelling thus for two days, we came to the village of Yaguarrama where Fray Bartholome de las Casas afterwards bishop of Chiapa was then parish priest. On the next day I went to another town named Chipiona, belonging to Alonzo de Avila, where, at the house of a friend named Anthonio de Medina I got clothed, and then pursued my journey to St. Jago, where I found the governor Velasquez busily employed in fitting out another armament for discovery. As he was my relation, and also as governor, I went to wait upon him, and after paying him my respects, he asked me if I was able to undertake another expedition to Yucatan. I told him that he should say the land of wounds and calamity; to which he answered that he knew we had suffered much in the former voyage, but that such was the fate of those who sought honour and fame in new discoveries; and that his Majesty should know and reward our merits. "And now," continued he "my son, try your fortune again, and I will put you in a station where you shall acquire honour."

Chapter ii.

Expedition of Juan de Grijalva. A. D. 1518.

THE governor Diego Velasquez, encouraged by the accounts of those who returned from the last expedition, now fitted out a second armament consisting of four ships, two of which were employed in the former voyage, and the other two were purchased by himself. These vessels were to be commanded by his relation Juan de Grijalva, (in chief,) Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco de Montejo, and Alonzo de Avila, all persons of valour, and possessed of estates in the islands. The charge of the equipment was divided thus; each captain found provisions and sailors, the arms and some trifling necessaries were provided by the governor. The accounts of the richness of the country, especially those given by the native Melchorejo, created an universal disposition in those who were unprovided in the islands to engage in the expedition. Accordingly, two hundred and forty companions immediately entered themselves, amongst whom I determined to try my fortune a second time.

Each of us deposited a certain sum to provide various necessary articles, both for the vessels and for ourselves in the field. The orders and instructions given by the governor to our chief were, to procure and bring back all the gold and silver that he could, and he gave him discretionary power to act as he thought best, in regard to colonization or establishments. The veedor appointed by us was named Penalosa, and our chaplain was named Juan Diaz. We had the same pilots who had gone the former voyage, and a fourth whose name I do not recollect. Our rendezvous was at the port of Matanzas, which was convenient for victualling, as the colonists had their plantations and stores of hogs in that neighbourhood.

The name of Matanzas was given to this place on the following account. Before the island was conquered, a Spanish vessel was wrecked on this coast, in her voyage from St. Domingo to the Lucayan Islands to procure slaves. Thirty men and women escaped to the land, and were met by a number of Indians who offered them an hospitable reception, and proposed to take them in their canoes. Our people being embarked, when they were in the middle of the river the Indians upset the canoes, and killed or drowned them all except three men and one woman who was handsome; she was taken by one of their principal caciques, and the three men were allotted to others. After the conquest of the island was effected, she and the Indian chief parted, and I afterwards knew her married in the city of Trinidad to one Pedro Sanchez Farfan. I was also acquainted with the three men; one was named Gonzalo Mexia, another Juan de St. Estevan, and the third Cascorro. This last mentioned had married the daughter of the cacique to whose lot he fell, and had his ears and nose bored like the Indians.

On the fifth day of April 1518, after having heard mass with great devotion, we set sail, and in ten days passed the point of Guaniguanico, called by the pilots St. Anton. In eight days more we came in sight of the Island of Cozumel, whither we were driven in part by the currents, which forced us farther down than when we came with Cordova. Coasting along the island by the South, we perceived a landing place at which our captain Grijalva went on shore with a considerable body of soldiers. The natives of an adjacent town fled at the sight of the ships, but our people found two old men who could not follow them concealed in some maize. Our interpreters, Julianillo, and Melchorejo, understood these Indians very well, for that island is distant but four leagues from their native country. Grijalva treated them well, and made them some presents, in hopes to be thereby able to induce the inhabitants to return to their town, for which purpose they were then dismissed. Some time after, an

Indian girl of good person and countenance joined us, and addressed us in the language of the Island of Jamaica, which is the same with that of Cuba. The account she gave of herself was, that she had sailed from Jamaica two years before in a large canoe with ten of her countrymen, to fish at certain small Islands, and that the current had driven them hither, where the natives had killed and sacrificed her husband and all her companions. Our captain thought that this woman might be serviceable in inducing the natives to return; he therefore sent her on a message to that effect, for which he allowed them a period of two days; but on the ensuing one she came back and informed us that she could not prevail on any of them to do so. We named this place Santa Cruz, having discovered it on the day of that holy festival. In the town we found a quantity of honey in hives, vegetables, such as boniatos and potatoes, and droves of hogs of the species of the country with the navel on the back. There were two smaller towns in the Island which we did not visit, Grijalva perceiving further stay to be loss of time.

Pursuing the route of F. H. de Cordova, in eight days we arrived at Champoton, and casting anchor at the distance of a league from the shore, on account of the height of the tides, we disembarked one half of our soldiers, landing them close to the town. The natives, proud of their former success, attacked us immediately on our landing in great bodies, and with much military parade. Experience had taught us to go well prepared, and accordingly we brought falconets in our boats. Half our number was wounded before we reached the land, but when we formed, and had received a reinforcement by a second embarkation, we soon drove them to the marshes, with the loss however of three of our soldiers, and our captain received three arrows, and had two of his teeth beaten out. When we entered the town after the defeat of the natives, we found that they had removed all their effects. Three of them whom we had taken prisoners we thought by kind usage to have made friends of,

and that they would have induced their countrymen to return, but after we had dismissed them they never came back to us, and we suspected that our interpreters had treacherously spoken to them in opposition to our intentions. The field where we fought with these people was very stony, and there was on it a prodigious swarm of locusts. These animals during the action sprang up and struck us in the faces, so that we hardly knew when to put up our shields to guard us, or whether they were arrows or locusts which flew round us, they came so mixed together.

After four days stay in Champoton we re-embarked, and pursuing our voyage arrived at what appeared to be the entrance of a large river; but our pilot Alaminos insisted that what we saw before us was an Island, and that he saw the termination of it. These circumstances caused us to name the bay, Boca de Terminos. Captain de Grijalva with many officers and soldiers went to examine the bay and neighbouring country; on the shore they found some adoratories or temples, built of lime and stone, and containing idols made of clay and wood, some in the figures of women, others of serpents, and many horns of deer. These were the occasional offerings of traders or hunters, who frequented those parts, for they were entirely uninhabited, but abundantly stocked with deer and rabbits. We killed ten of the former with one greyhound, and many rabbits. The dog was left behind us on our embarking, but when we returned with Cortes we found him on the shore, and he seemed to have fared well in our absence for he was very fat and sleek.

From the harbour of Boca de Terminos we coasted westward, and in three days arrived at another inlet, which being discovered by sounding to be shallow, was entered by the vessels of the lightest burthen, in which, together with the boats, we embarked our whole force, as we perceived numbers of armed Indians in canoes. We therefore judged that we were near some populous town or district, and the more so, as we found, and took fish out of nets, which were laid in

the track of our vessels. This River was called Tabasco from a native chieftain; but it was from this time named in honor of our Captain, de Grijalva, and it is so put down in the maps. When we approached the shore we heard the noise occasioned by the falling of timber, which was a preparation of defence, for they were very well acquainted with the transactions of Pontonchan. We disembarked at a point of land which was distant about half a league from the town, where was a grove of palm trees, and the natives advanced against us here, painted and prepared for battle, in about fifty canoes; but fortunately it was determined on our part, to address them through our interpreters, who declared to them our pacific intentions, and invited their chiefs to an interview. Upon this, about thirty Indians landed, to whom we presented beads and coloured glass. Our captain then caused to be explained to them how we had come from a distant country, and were the vassals of a great prince to whom we recommended them to submit, and further, that in exchange for those beads and glasses, we expected that they should give us a supply of provisions. Two of them, a chief and priest made answer to us by saying that they would barter, and give us provisions: that as to a sovereign, they already had one, and that our demand was so unseasonable that they advised us to be cautious how we repeated that, or any similar one, lest they should attack us as in Pontonchan, they having two xiquipils (eight thousand men each,) of warriors ready for the purpose, adding, that though confident of their force, they had come to treat with us amicably, and would repeat to their chiefs our proposal, and return to us with their decision for peace or war. Grijalva embraced them in token of peace, and presenting them with strings of beads, required their speedy return with an answer, which they promised and fulfilled, assuring us on the part of their chiefs, of the most pacific conduct; and as it is the custom of that country in amicable treaties to make presents, thirty Indians shortly afterwards came to us loaded with broiled

fish, fowls, fruit, bread of maize, and vessels with lighted coals to fumigate us with incense, and spreading a mat upon the ground and a mantle over it, they laid thereon some toys of gold made in the form of birds, and lizards, and three necklaces of gold cast like beads, with some other trifles not altogether worth two hundred crowns; they also produced some cotton mantles and other articles of clothing used by them, saying, that we should receive their present kindly, it being the whole of the gold that they were able to collect. But they added, that more to the West there was abundance thereof, repeating several times, "Mexico," and "Culua," words which we at that time did not understand. We were satisfied however by this proof that there was gold in the country, and we hastened to quit our station, where a gale of wind from the North, such as was to be hourly expected, might prove fatal to us.

In two days sail from this place, we arrived opposite to a town on the coast, named Aguayaluco, where we observed the inhabitants parading, armed with shields of the shell of the turtle, which being polished and shining in the sun our soldiers insisted were of gold. This place we named La Rambla. We next came to an inlet where the river Farole discharges itself: this we named the river of St. Anthonio. Continuing our route by the mouth of the great river Guacayalco, and the high chain of mountains which are covered with perpetual snow, as also others nearer the sea and which we named the ridge of St. Martin, because they were first described by one of our soldiers of that name, Alvarado discovered and entered the river called by the natives Papalohuna, but by us afterwards the river of Alvarado, where the natives of a place named Tlatocalpa presented him with some fish. Our chief was much displeased with the conduct of this officer, for whose return we were obliged to wait during three days, and gave orders that in future no ship should ever separate from the squadron, lest an accident should happen where it might not be possible to afford assistance.

As soon as Alvarado had rejoined us we proceeded on our voyage until we came to the river Vanderas, so called by us on account of the white banners which we observed upon the shore, and which were borne by numbers of Indians, who waved them as a signal of invitation to us.

It is now well known through most of Christendom, that Mexico is a city as large as Venice, and built in the same manner upon the water, also that the numerous and extensive provinces of that empire were ruled by a great monarch named Montezuma, whose thirst for conquest induced him to extend his views to the utmost limits of possibility. This monarch had received information of our first expedition under Cordova, of the battle of Champoton, that we were very few in number, and that we came to procure gold in exchange for certain articles which we brought with us. All these particulars had been faithfully reported to him by painted representations transmitted by expresses to his court. Montezuma therefore on our arrival coming to his knowledge, issued orders to his officers to procure from us in exchange for gold, our green glass beads, on which they set great value, not knowing them to be artificial, and he had also given them instructions, to endeavour to make particular enquiry, both as to our persons and intentions. We also understood that he was much influenced by an ancient prophecy which is said to have declared, that men were to come from where the sun rises to rule that country. In compliance with these orders, his officers were now upon the coast and making signs of invitation to us. This induced our general to send a party to the shore under the command of Capt. F. de Montejo; the weather was favorable, an unusual circumstance on that coast; we therefore landed without difficulty, and found the governor of that district, under Montezuma, attended by many natives with provisions of fowls, bread, and fruit, such as pines, and sapotes. They were reposing upon mats under the shade of some trees, and invited us by signs to do the same, for our Indians of Cotoche did not

understand their language; they also, as on former occasions, presented us with incense. Our reception being reported to our chief, Grijalva, he immediately landed with the whole of the soldiers, and as soon as his rank was made known to the Indians, they treated him with the greatest respect, which he returned with equal courtesy, and ordered beads and cut glass to be distributed to them, signifying his wish to procure gold in return; in consequence of which, we obtained pieces of gold of various workmanship, to the value of fifteen thousand crowns. It must be this gold that Gomara and Oviedo mean, when they say in their histories that so much was obtained in Tabasco, a country in which that metal is not to be found at all, or but in very small quantity. We at this time took possession of these territories under the Governor of Cuba, and in his Majesty's name; and after distributing some shirts of European manufacture among the natives, we re-embarked, taking with us one of them, who was baptized and named Francisco. I saw him after the conquest of Mexico, settled and married at a place called Santa Fe. After staying here six days we now re-embarked and sailed along the coast, passing a low Island distant three leagues from the main, called by us Isla Blanca. Farther on we came to a large one, distant about a league and a half therefrom, where a party commanded by our captain went on shore. Our people found on this last mentioned Island two buildings of lime and stone, well constructed, each with steps, and an altar placed before certain hideous figures, the representations of the Gods of these Indians. They found also here the bodies of five unfortunate persons who had been sacrificed on the preceding night, their hearts cut out, their limbs separated from the bodies, and the walls and altars stained with their blood. This Island was named Isla de Los Sacrificios. Opposite to it on the continent we landed, and constructing huts, remained some time in expectation of trading with the natives for gold. Many Indians came thither, but brought very little of that metal, and

appeared shy and timorous; in consequence of which we re-embarked, and proceeded.

On our arrival at that part of the coast where the town of St. Juan de Ulua is now built, we lodged ourselves in huts which we constructed upon the sand hills, and having sounded the harbour we found good anchorage, and it was secure to the North. A party of thirty of us commanded by our captain then proceeded to examine the Island, where we found a temple containing a very large and hideous image intended to represent a God, the name given to which was Tezcatepuca. Here were four Indians in long black mantles resembling the habit of the Dominicans; these were priests, and they had that day sacrificed two boys, and offered their hearts to that cursed idol. On our entering they came to us with their pots of incense, but we could not endure it, being disgusted and grieved at the sight, and the horrid cruelty of their sacrifices. Our interpreter who shewed some marks of intelligence being questioned as to the cause of those victims being put to death in that manner, made answer as well as he could, that it was done by the Indians of Culva or Culchua, meaning the Mexicans; but he pronounced this word, Ulua, a name which ever after distinguished the place. It was called St. John, partly because this was the day of St. John, and partly in compliment to our chief, Juan de Grijalva. The neighbouring Indians brought us some gold, but in so trifling a quantity as not to be worth mentioning, and here we remained seven days desperately annoyed by the mosquitos. Our bread now growing very bad, and our wounded men declining, being also convinced that the land where we were was a part of the continent, and our number having been so reduced as to be insufficient for colonization, it was determined to send P. de Alvarado to Cuba for a re-inforcement, which was accordingly done, for our chief was very anxious to establish a settlement, and always shewed himself a most valiant officer, the very reverse of what would be supposed, from the aspersions cast upon him by Gomara.

From the time of our sailing the Governor of Cuba had always been pensive and uneasy as to our fate; at length he determined to send a vessel in search of us, commanded by a valiant soldier named Christoval de Oli: but after De Oli had sailed for some time in our track, he met with a gale of wind which so shattered his vessel that he was obliged to return to Cuba, without having gained in any degree the intelligence he was sent for. This was a great disappointment to Velasquez; however he was soon relieved by the arrival of Alvarado. The display of the gold struck the governor and all who saw it with astonishment; and Velasquez thought he never could sufficiently shew his favor to one who had brought such agreeable intelligence; Alvarado was feasted and honored, and the fame of the newly discovered and wealthy country was diffused and enhanced through the Islands, and soon reached Castille.

We determined now to extend our discoveries as far as circumstances would permit, and passing by the mountains of Tusta and Tuspa, we approached the province of Panuco, thickly set with populous towns, about three or four leagues from the coast; and advancing further, arrived at the river de Canoas, so named by us on account of what I am going to relate. We were here suddenly attacked while at anchor by ten canoes filled with Indians; they fell violently on the smallest ship, which was commanded by Alonzo de Avila, and it seems as if their intention was to have carried her off, for they cut the cable, notwithstanding the gallant defence made by those on board; but we sent them speedy assistance, whereby the enemy were forced to retreat with a considerable loss. We then weighed anchor and pursued our route, until we arrived at a very bold point of land, which the violence of the current, according to the report of our pilot, did not allow us to double; whereupon it was determined in council to return to the Island of Cuba, contrary to the opinion of Grijalva who was anxious to establish a settlement, but was opposed for several reasons, such as the lateness of the season,

want of provisions, and hardships already sustained by the troops.

We therefore set sail upon our return, in which, aided by the current, we made way rapidly, and entering the river of Tonala, were obliged to delay, in order to repair one of our ships. This vessel struck three times in crossing the bar, on which the water is shallow. The natives came to us here very amicably, and brought provisions of bread, fish, and fruits. We presented them with beads and cut glass, desiring gold in return, and this being made known in the neighbourhood, the inhabitants of Guacacualco and other places brought to us what gold was in their possession.

It was a custom of the Indians of this province invariably, to carry small hatchets of copper, very bright, and the wooden handles of which were highly painted, as intended both for defence and ornament. These were supposed by us to be gold, and were of course eagerly purchased, insomuch that within three days we had amongst us procured above six hundred, and were while under the mistake as well pleased with our bargain, as the Indians with their green beads. One mariner thought he had made his fortune, having purchased seven of them. I recollect also that a soldier named Bartholome Pardo entered a temple which was on the summit of a high mount, and there found in a chest some diadems and collars of gold, and two figures of idols. The gold he kept for himself, and presented the idols to our commandant. The story however came to the ears of the latter, who insisted on having the gold, but was induced to leave it with the poor man on his paying his Majesty's fifth, and the whole was not worth eighty crowns.

As this country is infested by mosquitos, in order to avoid them I went to sleep in a large temple, near which I at this time sowed seven or eight seeds of oranges, which I had brought from Cuba. They grew very well, for the priests of the temple took care of them when they saw that they were uncommon plants. This I mention, because they were the

first trees of the kind that ever grew in New Spain. After the conquest of Mexico, this province being considered as offering the greatest advantages, was chosen by most of the principal persons amongst the conquerors, of which number I was one; and on my arrival there I went in search of, and found my young trees flourishing, and having transplanted them, they all did very well.

We now embarked, leaving the natives very well satisfied with us, and sailed for Cuba, where we arrived after a voyage of forty-five days. The governor was well pleased with the gold, which amounted in value to twenty thousand crowns: but there was much laughter when the six hundred hatchets were produced, and assayed; the governor however was on the whole contented, though he appeared for a time displeased with Grijalva, which was owing to the unjust aspersions of the two captains, Avila and Montejo.

Velasquez now wishing to convey to his Majesty the first account of his voyages of discovery, and the result of them, sent his chaplain Benito Martinez to Castille with letters to his patron the Bishop of Burgos, and to the licentiate Juan Zapata, and secretary Lope Conchillos, both of whom were employed in the affairs of the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. With all these, who were persons in power, Velasquez had created a strong interest for himself, by giving them rich districts in the islands, preferring thereby his own interest to that of his Majesty. Martinez was instructed to obtain for the governor a patent or commission to procure gold, and to make conquests and settlements as he judged expedient, through all the newly discovered countries. This he not only completely effected, but such was the satisfaction of those in power with the conduct of Velasquez, and the proofs which he sent of the wealth of those countries, that Martinez also brought back with him a commission for his employer, of adelantado of the Island of Cuba.

Chapter iii.

Expedition of H. Cortes. A. D. 1518.*

THE Governor of Cuba was anxious to prosecute the advantages of which the expedition of Grijalva afforded him so flattering a prospect. For this purpose he provided ten ships at the port of St. Jago, four of which had been on the former voyage, and supplied them with such provisions as that place afforded, but their full complement of necessaries and appointments was to be taken in at the Havannah. Great difference of opinion existed as to the appointment of a chief: Vasco Porcallo a man of quality and related to the Count de Feria was proposed, but Velasquez was afraid to trust his armament with one of his bold character, lest he should revolt, and declare himself independent. Augustin Vermudez, Anthonio Velasquez Borrego, and Bernardino Velasquez, all relations of the governor, were also spoken of, but the soldiers were in general inclined towards Grijalva.

Just at this time Andres de Duero, secretary to the governor, and Amador de Lares, the Contador of his Majesty in Cuba, made a private proposal to a respectable Hidalgo named Hernando Cortes, a native of Medellin in Estremadura, and son of Martin Cortes de Monroy, and of Catalina Pizarro Altamirano, both, though poor, Hidalgos, and of the good lineages of that province. Hernando Cortes possessed a property in the Island of Cuba, had been twice Alcalde there, and had lately from motives of inclination married a lady named Donna Catalina Suarez Pacheco, daughter of Diego Suarez Pacheco of Avila, and of Maria de Mercaida a Biscayan. This marriage brought much trouble upon Cortes, and he was frequently in confinement by the interference of D. Velasquez. Leaving this to be related more fully by others, I will now however proceed in my

* Although the appointment of Cortes took place before, the fleet did not sail for the continent until 1519.

narrative of what took place between Cortes and the Secretary and Contador. These two officers, the particular confidential friends of Velasquez, agreed with Cortes to procure by their interest with the governor his appointment to the command of the armament, on condition of his giving them, each, equal parts with himself, in the treasure which should come to his share; for the commission was to be extended no farther than barter and obtaining gold, and not to colonization. This being agreed amongst them, the Secretary and Contador took such measures, praising and recommending Cortes, and vouching for his fidelity, to Velasquez, who had stood as father to him at his marriage, that they succeeded in obtaining the commission for him, which, it being the office of the secretary to draw it up, was done as the proverb says with very good ink, and fully ratified, according to the wish of Cortes.

As soon as the appointment was made public, to some it gave satisfaction, and others were displeased at it; and one Sunday, the governor going as usual to mass attended by the most respectable persons of the town and neighbourhood, he placed Hernando Cortes by way of distinction on his right hand; upon which occasion one Cervantes, called the mad, a kind of buffoon, ran before them repeating his absurdities such as, "Huzza for my master Diego, what a captain has he chosen! And how soon he will lose his fleet!" With much of that kind, but all having a malicious tendency. Andres de Duero who was present cuffed him, and bid him be silent, saying he well knew that he repeated what others put in his mouth, but the rogue persevered, adding, that he would quit his old master, and follow the fortunes of Cortes. It was certain that the relations of Velasquez hired him to repeat those things under the colour of folly, and to alarm the governor; but all he said turned out literally true.

Cortes immediately on his appointment proceeded with the greatest activity in making his preparations; he also dressed and appeared in much greater state as to his own person than

before; wearing a plume of feathers, and a gold medal in his cap, which ornaments became him very well. His funds were very inadequate to this expence, for he was much indebted and distressed, although he had a good estate; being very extravagant, both as to himself and the dress and state of his wife; but certain merchants, his friends, named Jaime or Jeronymo Tria, and Pedro de Xeres, perceiving that he was rising in the world, and fortune likely to favor him, advanced him four thousand crowns in money, and merchandizes also, upon his property. With this, he caused to be made a standard of gold and velvet, with the royal arms and a cross embroidered thereon, and a latin motto, the meaning of which was, "Brothers follow this holy cross with true faith, for with it we shall conquer."

It was proclaimed by beat of drum and sound of trumpet, that all such as entered the service in the present expedition, should have their shares of what gold was obtained, and grants of land, as soon as the conquest was effected. I must observe, that notwithstanding this was announced to be by his Majesty's commission and authority, the Chaplain Benito Martinez had not yet returned from Castille. The proclamation however was no sooner made, than by general inclination, as well as the private influence of Cortes, volunteers offered themselves every where. Nothing was to be seen or spoken of but selling lands to purchase arms and horses, quilting coats of mail, making bread, and salting pork for sea store. Above three hundred of us assembled in the town of St. Jago. The principal persons in the family of the governor entered with us; Diego de Ordas his first Major Domo was sent by him as a spy upon Cortes, whom he already began to suspect, although he dissimulated: and F. de Morla, Escobar, Heredia, Ruano, Escudero, Ramos de Lares, and many others were all adherents of the governor.

The relations of Velasquez still continued to be much dissatisfied with him, and envious of the fortune of Cortes upon this occasion; they knew that a bitter enmity had subsisted

between the two on account of certain circumstances attending his late marriage, and they omitted nothing that could be done to induce the governor to revoke his commission. Of this Cortes was very well advised, and for that reason took care always to be in his company, and to appear entirely devoted to him. Andres de Duero also warned Cortes to use all possible expedition, as he perceived that Velasquez was already wavering, from the importunities of his relations. Leaving therefore to his Lady Donna Catalina the care of supplying him with what was necessary for his voyage, Cortes warned all his captains, masters, pilots, and soldiers, to be on board at the given time, which having seen fully complied with, he went, accompanied by his friends the Secretary and Contador, to take his leave of Velasquez, whom he parted from with great politeness, and many assurances of service on both sides. On the ensuing morning he embarked, being accompanied by the governor to his ship, and setting sail immediately, our fleet arrived in a few days at the town of Trinidad.

There were in the town of Trinidad at this period very respectable and opulent Hidalgos, from whom all of us, but Cortes in particular, experienced a most hospitable reception. Cortes here planted the royal standard in front of his quarters, and caused a proclamation to be made, inviting volunteers, a number of whom, Hidalgos of most respectable families, and persons of wealth, immediately joined us; amongst these were the Alvarados and Alonzo de Avila.

At the call of Cortes, Alonzo Hernandez Puertocarrero, cousin of the Count de Medellin, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Juan Velasquez de Leon a relation of the governor, Rodrigo Rangel, Gonzalo Lopez de Ximena, his brother Juan Lopez, and Juan Sedeno also came from the town of Santi Spiritus. They joined us in a body, and were received with rejoicings, discharge of artillery, and all the marks of respect and courtesy, due to such honorable persons. Provisions were procured from the estates of these Cavaliers, and the number

of our companions was hourly increasing, but it was very difficult to obtain horses. Cortes stripped himself of some of his golden ornaments, and therewith purchased a grey mare for his friend Puertocarrero, whose means did not permit him to go to that expence, and at this time a vessel arriving with a cargo of provisions, the owner immediately waited on Cortes to kiss his hands, and enrolling himself with us, Cortes bought both ship and lading from him upon credit. His name was Sedeno.

From the time that we quitted the port of St. Jago, the relations of Velasquez had not ceased to work upon his mind, in order to induce him to supercede Cortes in the command. In this they were much aided by one Juan Millan, an astrologer, and considered to be mad. This old man, to whom the governor gave an ear, was constantly telling him how Cortes would be revenged for some former injuries, upon an occasion when Velasquez had thrown him into prison. Every action of Cortes was also explained in the most unfavorable manner, his sudden sailing was dwelt on, and the secret treaty with the Secretary and Contador surmised. Velasquez in consequence of these representations, sent two confidential persons, with positive orders to his brother-in-law the Alcalde Major of the town of Trinidad, who was named Francisco Verdugo, to take the fleet and troops from under the command of Cortes, he having been superceded, and Vasco Porcallo appointed in his place. Diego de Ordas, Francisco de Morla, and all the friends and relations of Velasquez also received orders to the same effect.

Cortes who was well aware of these proceedings, exerted himself to such effect, that by promises and other ways, he contrived to bring over all those upon whom Velasquez relied, and especially Diego de Ordas, to his own interest, which the latter supported most effectually with the Alcalde Verdugo by his persuasions and arguments, representing to him the danger that would result from any violent measures. Such was the talent of Cortes in making friends, that the very

messengers sent by Velasquez with the orders, came over to him, one of them Pedro Lasso enrolling himself under his command. By the other Cortes wrote to the governor, expressing his attachment to him in the strongest terms, his surprise at the step that he had been induced to take, and his request to him, not to let himself be deceived by the misrepresentations of his enemies, and of the old madman Juan Millan. Thus Cortes continued in his command. The twelve ensuing days were passed in preparations; all the smiths of the city were employed in making arrow heads for the cross-bows, and also engaged to join the expedition.

Cortes perceiving that nothing more was to be done at the town of Trinidad, gave orders for the fleet to sail for the Havannah, and also, that all such as chose to proceed thither by land should go under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, who was to receive the volunteers who expected us in some settlements upon our road. I and about fifty more marched with Alvarado; and Cortes, having dispatched one vessel to the Havannah under the command of his friend Juan de Escalante by a northern route, embarked, and set sail with his whole fleet for that port, by the South. All the ships except that on board of which Cortes was, arrived at the Havannah without any accident, and our land party having also reached that town, we were there for the space of seven days, that we could not by any means account for his absence. We were very apprehensive that the ship was lost in some shoals called Los Jardines, and it was determined to sail with three vessels in search of it, but as there was no one to command, the time was spent in disputes, and faction began to exist as to the choice of a substitute for Cortes, until we should know what was become of him. The person who was most particularly busy on this occasion was Diego de Ordas. At length these intrigues were put a stop to by the appearance of Cortes himself. The ship which he was on board of had struck upon a shoal, but being near the land they had got her off, by lightening her of a part of the cargo.

As soon as Cortes arrived, he took his quarters at the house of Pedro Barba the Lieutenant of Velasquez, where he planted his standard before the door, and beat up for volunteers. He was accordingly soon joined by Francisco de Montejo, Diego de Soto, one Angulo, Garci Caro, Sebastian Rodriquez, Pacheco, Gutierrez, and Rojas, (not Rojas the wealthy) also by a lad named Santa Clara, two brothers named Los Martinez de Frexenal, and Juan de Najara, (not the deaf man of the tennis court in Mexico,) all persons of quality, besides many other soldiers, whose names I do not recollect.

Cortez judged it necessary to send Diego de Ordas to the estate of the governor at Guaniguanico, for more provisions of bread and bacon, and with directions to wait there for further orders. This he did, knowing that during his absence De Ordas had shewn himself by no means attached to his interest. Cortes now brought his artillery which consisted of ten brass guns and some falconets, on shore, and gave them in charge to four cannoniers named Mesa, Arbenga, Juan Catalan, and Bartholome de Usagre. He also ordered the cross-bows to be inspected, the cords, nuts, and arrows, to be put in proper repair, and their range to be ascertained by trial at a mark; and as the country about the Havannah produces much cotton, the soldiers provided themselves with good quilted jackets of that material.

Cortes now began to assume state in his establishment, and to appear in a high character. His steward of the household was one Guzman, (not he whom Guatimotzin took prisoner,) his chamberlain was one Rodrigo Rangel, and his Major domo Juan de Caceres. He ordered mangers to be fitted up in all the ships, and stores of maize and hay to be put on board for the horses, of which I will now describe such as passed over with us.

Captain General Cortes, had a chesnut horse which died in St. Juan de Ulua: Pedro de Alvarado, and H. Lopez de Avila, (in partnership) an excellent chesnut mare, for

exercise, or service; after our arrival in new Spain Alvarado took her entirely to himself, either by purchase or by force: Alonzo Hernandez Puertocarrero, a grey mare of good speed, bought for him by Cortes: J. Velasquez de Leon, a very powerful grey mare called La Rabona, (docked tail) well dressed, and of great speed: Christoval de Oli, a dark chesnut horse, tolerably good: Francisco de Montejo, Alonzo de Avila, (between them) a dark chesnut, not fit for service: Francisco de Morla, a dark chesnut horse, of great speed and well dressed: Juan de Escalante, a light chesnut horse, not good for service: Diego de Ordas, a tolerable grey mare, but of no speed: Gonzalo Dominguez, an excellent horseman, a dark chesnut horse, very good, and of great speed: Pedro Gonzales Truxillo, a good chesnut horse, and speedy; Moron of Vaimo, a dappled grey, well on his haunches: Vaena of La Trinidad, a dapple, somewhat black; this horse did not turn out well: Lares the good horseman, a very good horse, bright chesnut, of great speed: Ortiz the musician and Bartholome Garcia who had gold mines, a horse called El Harriero, one of the best that came over with us: Juan Sedeno of the Havannah, a chesnut mare which foaled in the ship. Sedeno was the richest man in our army, possessing also a ship, a negro, bread, and bacon; some of which articles were indications of great wealth at that time, for horses and negroes were hardly to be procured for any money.

I must now revert to the proceedings of Valesquez, who was more determined than ever to deprive Cortes of the command. He was enraged when he found that Verdugo had neglected his orders, and reproached his Secretary and the Contador with having deceived him. He now therefore sent a confidential person named Garnica to his Lieut. Pedro Barba at the Havannah, with orders to him, and letters to his friends De Ordas and Velasquez de Leon, earnestly soliciting them by no means to suffer the fleet to proceed, but to arrest Cortes, and send him a close prisoner to St. Jago. The messenger was no sooner arrived than Cortes knew his busi-

ness, for he brought with him letters from a friar who was about the governor, to our Chaplain Fray Bartholome de Olmedo, whereby the Secretary and Contador conveyed intelligence of all the schemes of Velasquez. Diego de Ordas it has been already mentioned had been sent out of the way; the other person, Velasquez de Leon, Cortes had now brought over completely to his side, for he was displeased with the governor for not having taken, as he thought, proper care of him. As to the Alvarados, Puertocarrero, Montejo, De Oli, Escalante, the two Monjarazes, and all the rest of us, the Lieut. Governor not excepted, we would with pleasure have laid down our lives for him; so that if the orders of Velasquez were concealed in La Trinidad, they were completely suppressed in the Havannah, for Pedro Barba wrote an answer telling him that he dare not put them in execution, such was the popularity of Cortes; and that he was sure if he were to attempt it, the town would be sacked, and Cortes would carry away all the inhabitants with him. Cortes also wrote to Velasquez professing his eternal devotion to his interest, and informing him that it was his intention to sail on the ensuing day.

The whole fleet sailed for the Island of Cozumel on the tenth of February 1519. Our ship, which was commanded by Alvarado, was sent round by the north, under orders to wait for the fleet at the point of St. Anton; and Cortes also sent directions to Diego de Ordas to do the same; but our pilot neglected his instructions, and proceeded for Cozumel, where we on this account arrived two days before the rest. As soon as we had cast anchor our whole party went to the town of Cozumel, which we found abandoned by the inhabitants. We then proceeded to another place from which the natives fled at our approach, but not in sufficient time to move their effects, for we found a quantity of fowls, and some idols, toys, and ornaments of debased gold in the temple of the place, wherewith we returned to the town near which our ship was at anchor. At this time Cortes and his fleet

arrived, and the first thing that he did was to put our pilot Camacho in irons, for not having obeyed his orders. He then sent for Alvarado, and gravely reprehended him for his imprudence in seizing the property of the natives, telling him that was by no means the way to effect any good in the country, and he immediately ordered two men and a woman whom they had made prisoners to be brought before him, and through our interpreter Melchorejo, desired them to call back their countrymen to their habitations, and assured them that they need be under no apprehensions. He ordered all the articles that had been taken to be returned, for the fowls which had been eaten he paid in beads and trinkets, and to each of the three natives he presented a shirt. The people were so satisfied with this treatment, that on the ensuing day the chief of the place and all the inhabitants returned, and mixed with us in so easy and amicable a manner, that it would have been supposed we had passed our whole lives together.

Cortes now began to take the command upon him in earnest, and our Lord was pleased to give him grace, that whatever he undertook he succeeded in.

In the three days which we passed here, Cortes ordered a review of his troops, which amounted to five hundred and eight, the mariners not included. The number of these was one hundred and nine. We had sixteen cavalry, eleven ships large and small, including a brigantine belonging to one Gines Nortes, thirteen musketeers, ten brass field pieces, four falconets, and (as well as I recollect) thirty-two cross-bows with plenty of ammunition. He also ordered the artillerymen to put their guns in order, and appointed one Francisco de Orozca, who had been a good soldier in Italy, his captain of artillery. But I know not why I now waste so much ink in relating this, for truly he used the greatest vigilance and exactness in all things relating to the service he was upon.

Cortes now sent for me and a Biscayan named Martin Ramos, in order to question us as to our opinions of the

meaning of the word "Castillan," so frequently repeated by the Indians of Cotoche, when we came with Captain Hernandez de Cordova; adding that he was convinced that it must allude to some Spaniards in that country: for which reason, he questioned the native chiefs upon the subject. They all answered in the affirmative, and certain Indian merchants then in Cozumel assured us that they had spoken to them a few days before. Cortes was anxious to obtain their release, and being informed that compensation would be expected, he amply provided his messengers for the purpose. By these persons he sent letters to them, and he ordered for this service two light vessels, with twenty cross-bow-men and musketeers under the command of Diego de Ordas. One ship was to remain at the point of Cotoche for eight days, while the messengers went and returned, and the second was to bring the report to Cortes how the business proceeded.

The places where the Spaniards were said to reside, were distant from the point of Cotoche only about four leagues. The letter which Cortes sent was as follows, "Gentlemen and brothers; here in Cozumel I have been informed that you are detained prisoners by a cacique: I request as a favour that you will forthwith join me. I send a ship and soldiers, with whatever is necessary for your ransom; they have orders to wait eight days, but come with all dispatch to me, from whom you shall receive every assistance and protection. I am here with eleven ships and five hundred soldiers, with which I will, with the assistance of God, proceed to Tabasco, Pontonchan, &c. &c."

The merchants of Cozumel to whom this business was intrusted being embarked, the ships crossed the gulf, and the letters were in two days received by a Spaniard named Jeronimo de Aguilar, together with the beads sent for his ransom. He immediately waited upon his master, who accepted them with satisfaction, and gave him his liberty. Aguilar then went to his companion Alonso Guerrero, and

having made known his business, Guerrero replied to him as follows: "Brother Aguilar, I am married; I have three sons, and am a cacique and captain in the wars; go you in God's name; my face is marked, and my ears bored; what would those Spaniards think of me if I went among them? Behold these three beautiful boys; I beseech you give me for them some of these green beads, and say that my brother sent them as a present to me from our country." The man's wife who was present now became greatly enraged and said in her language, "See this slave how he comes to seduce my husband!" Aguilar persevered in advising the other not to lose his precious soul for the sake of an Indian, or at any rate if he could not part from his wife and children, to bring them with him; but he could not be induced to quit his home. When Aguilar saw that it was impossible to move him, he came with the Indian messengers to the part of the coast where the ships had been stationed; but they had already sailed, for the eight days to which De Ordas considered himself limited, and one more, were expired; and De Ordas despairing of the return of his messengers, had gone back to Cozumel, so that Aguilar was forced to return with great sorrow to his Indian master. Cortes was exceedingly displeased at De Ordas, for returning without the Spaniards, or even those whom he sent in quest of them.

Certain sailors named the Penyates of Gibraleon, were at this time accused of stealing bacon from one Berrio a soldier, and a general examination and questions upon oath taking place, they denied it, but upon a search, proofs were brought home to them, and notwithstanding much intercession was made, Cortes ordered seven of them to be severely whipped.

There was on the Island of Cozumel a temple, and some hideous idols, to which all the Indians of the neighbouring districts used to go frequently in solemn procession. One morning the courts of this temple were filled with Indians, and curiosity having also drawn many of us thither, we found them burning odoriferous resins like our incense, and

THE SAILING OF THE EXPEDITION UNDER CORTES FROM SANTIAGO, CUBA.

shortly after, an old man in a large loose mantle ascended to the top of the temple, and harangued or preached to the multitude for a considerable time. Cortes who was present at length called Melchorejo to him, to question him in regard to the evil doctrines which the old man was delivering; he then summoned all the caciques and chief persons to come to him, and as well as he could, by signs and interpretations, explained to them that the idols which they worshipped were not gods, but evil things, which would draw their souls down to hell, and that if they wished to remain in a brotherly connection with us, they must pull them down, and place in their stead the crucifix of our Lord, by whose assistance they would obtain good harvests, and the salvation of their souls; with many other good and holy reasons, which he expressed very well. The priests and chiefs replied, that they worshipped these gods as their ancestors had done, because they were kind to them; and that if we attempted to molest them, the gods would convince us of their power, by destroying us in the sea. Cortes then ordered them to be prostrated, which we immediately did, rolling them down some steps. He next sent for lime of which there was abundance in the place, and Indian masons, by whom, under our direction, a very handsome altar was constructed, whereon we placed an image of the Holy Virgin, and the carpenters having made a crucifix which was erected in a small chapel close to the altar, mass was said by the Rev. Father Juan Diaz, and listened to by the priests, chiefs, and the rest of the natives, with great attention.

The regulation of our fleet was now made by Cortes, and the captains appointed. The first or admiral's ship was commanded by Cortes in person, and the rest as follows: The St. Sebastion by P. de Alvarado, the third ship in size by Alonzo H. Puertocarrero, the fourth by F. de Montejo, the fifth by Christoval de Oli, the sixth by Diego de Ordas, the seventh by J. Velasquez de Leon, the eighth by J. de Escalante, the ninth by F. de Morla, the tenth by Escobar, and

the eleventh by Gines Nortes. Pilots were appointed, the night signals given, and each captain received his instructions.

In the beginning of the month of March, we set sail, after having taken a friendly leave of the natives, who promised to take care of the holy altar and crucifix; and they presented Cortes on his departure with some fowls and honey. We had sailed but a few hours when a signal gun and cry of alarm informed us that the vessel of Juan de Escalante which contained the bread for the fleet was in danger, having sprung a leak. This forced us to put back to the place from whence we had sailed. On our return there, we were visited by the friendly Indians, and the cause of it being made known to them, they immediately brought their canoes to assist us in taking the lading out of the vessel, and we had also the further satisfaction of perceiving on entering the temple, that so far from having done any injury to the holy altar and crucifix, they had taken care of, and placed incense before them.

The Indian messengers and Aguilar hearing of our return, joyfully hired a boat and crossed the gulf to join us. Intelligence of the arrival of a large canoe was given to Cortes, by some soldiers who had gone out to hunt wild swine, whereupon he ordered Andres de Tapia and two others to go and see who and what these Indians were, who came to us thus without apprehension. Aguilar was not in his appearance to be distinguished from a native, and he had hardly the pronunciation of his own language; his only words at first were, "Dios, Santa Maria," and "Sevilla." His colour was as dark as a native, and he was marked like them; he had a few rags about his shoulders and waist, an oar in his hand, and the remnant of an old book of prayers tied in a bundle on his shoulder. When he came into the presence of Cortes, he like the rest of his companions squatted down upon his hams, and every one was looking for the Spaniard. At length, to the enquiry of Cortes he replied, "Here he is," and then

coming forward, he was immediately supplied with proper clothing.

Being questioned concerning himself he informed us that he was a native of Ecija, and had been ordained in the church. That eight years before, he was wrecked with fifteen men and two women, going from Darien to the Island of St. Domingo, at a time of a certain litigation between one Enciso, and Valdivia. That the vessel which they were on board was stranded and went to pieces, and with her were lost ten thousand crowns in gold. Those on board taking to the boat, endeavoured to reach the Island of Cuba or Jamaica, but were forced by the current upon this coast, where the different chiefs had divided and made property of them. Many had been sacrificed, some had died of disease, and the two women had sunk a short time before under hard labour at their mills. He was to have been at one time sacrificed, but he made his escape, and taking refuge with a certain cacique had remained with him ever since; and of the whole number there were now in existence, only himself, and Guerrero. As to his knowledge of the country it was very confined, for he was only employed in procuring wood and water, and digging in the maize fields, and had never been farther from the coast than about four leagues; but he understood that it was very populous. He described Guerrero as exactly resembling an Indian, adding that he was considered by the natives as a very brave man, insomuch that when above a year before, three ships came upon the coast at the point of Cotoche, (this was the expedition of H. de Cordova,) he planned the attack upon those who landed, and led the Indians in person. Upon hearing this, Cortes regretted much his not being able to get him into his hands.

Aguilar was well treated by the natives of Cozumel, who supplied him plentifully with provisions; he in return earnestly exhorted them to continue faithful to our holy religion, the good effects of which they should soon perceive;

and he also advised them to apply to Cortes for a letter of protection, which would be of service to them in case of the arrival of other Spaniards on their coast. This was immediately granted them; and such is the true narrative in regard to Aguilar.

On the fourth of March the fleet again put to sea, and was during the night separated by a gale of wind, but on the next day all the ships joined company except that of Velasquez de Leon, which not appearing on the ensuing day, Cortes made sail for a certain bay on the coast, where, according to the surmise of the pilot, they found the ship, which had put in during the storm, and was detained there wind bound. Here several of our companions went on shore, and found in the town hard by, four temples, the idols in which represented human female figures of large size, for which reason we named this place, Punta de las Mugeres.

Aguilar said that he had once been sent so far with a load, and that the town where he resided was about four leagues distant; he also told us that the residence of Guerrero was not far off, and that the country contained gold though in very small quantity, offering to serve as a guide, if Cortes thought proper to send a party on shore; to which the general replied that he did not come for such trifles, but to serve God and his sovereign effectually. Cortes now ordered Capt. de Escobar to examine the bay called Boca de Terminos; and to leave signs on the coast of his having been there, or cruize off the bay, till the arrival of the fleet, for by the description given of the harbour, and the abundance of game, he was inclined to think it an advantageous situation to colonize.

Escobar proceeded thither, and on his landing found the greyhound which had been left behind by Grijalva waiting for him on the shore, and testifying his joy at the sight of our people; he was taken on board, and the vessel then cruized, waiting for the arrival of the fleet; but a strong gale of wind from the South came on, and forced her con-

siderably out to sea, so that when we arrived there, Escobar's ship was no where to be seen. On sending on shore however, a letter was found, wherein he told Cortes of the state of the harbour, and country, both of which he represented in a favourable light. We then stood out, and in the ensuing day his vessel joined us. At this time we were near the point of Pontonchan, the natives of which Cortes and many of us were well inclined to punish for their conduct on former occasions, but it was opposed by the pilots on account of the shallowness of the coast, and height of the tides, whereby vessels are compelled to ride at least two leagues out at sea. We therefore continued our voyage for the river of Grijalva.

On the thirteenth day of March 1519, we arrived with the whole armament at the river of Tabasco or Grijalva. As we knew that it did not admit vessels of great burthen we selected the lighter ones, and in them, together with the boats, our troops proceeded to the shore, and disembarked at the point of Palmares, which was distant from the town of Tabasco about half a league. The borders of the river, which are covered by mangroves, were filled with canoes containing armed Indians, and above twelve thousand warriors had assembled in the town of Tabasco which was at that time possessed of an extensive domination over the neighbouring districts. This afforded matter of surprise to us who had been at this place before, and the reason of their present hostility we afterwards found to be, that the neighbouring nations of Pontonchan and Lazarus, (as we named the place,) had reproached them for their dastardly timidity, as they considered it, in treating amicably with us, instead of attacking us at our landing as the others had done. For this reason they were determined to take the present opportunity of retrieving their character with their neighbours.

As soon as Cortes perceived what kind of reception he was to expect, he directed Aguilar to address himself to some of the natives who appeared to be chiefs, and who were in a canoe which was then passing very near us, and ask them the

reason of these hostile appearances when we came to them as friends and brothers, adding, that if they were so rash as to recur to hostilities they should certainly have cause to repent it. This, and more to the same purpose being explained to them, only seemed to render them more violent against us, and they replied by threatening us all with instant death if we ventured to approach their town, which they had fortified with parapets and palisades. Aguilar then requested permission to procure wood and water, and an interview with their caciques, to whom our general had matters of the greatest importance and of a holy nature to communicate, but to this they only replied in the same manner as before.

Cortes hereupon ordered three guns to be placed in each vessel, and also divided the musketeers and cross-bowmen through them. It was recollected by us who had been there before, that a narrow road went from the point of Palmares, by some brooks and marshes, to the town of Tabasco. Cortes ordered three soldiers to watch the motions of the enemy, and report to him if they retired to their town; which they shortly did.

On the next morning, after mass, our general detached Captain Alonzo de Avila with one hundred soldiers, to march by the narrow road already mentioned, with instructions, that as soon as he heard the discharge of the artillery, he should attack the town on one side, while the main body did the same upon another. This being arranged, Cortes with his troops proceeded in the vessels towards the shore near the town. As soon as those of the enemy who were in canoes amongst the mangroves perceived that we were proceeding to the attack, they all sallied out, and such a prodigious number of them collected at our point of disembarkation, that nothing was to be seen around us but armed hosts, nor heard except their trumpets, horns and timbrels.

Cortes observing this, ordered a halt, and that the firing should not commence, for he wished to proceed in a strictly justifiable manner. He therefore ordered Diego de Godoy

a royal notary, formally to require them to permit us to supply ourselves with wood and water, and speak to them as we were in duty bound upon what concerned the service of our God and King, warning them, that in case of violence they were answerable for all the mischief that resulted. All this, being duly explained to them produced no effect, they seemed as determined to oppose us as they were before. They made with their drums the signals for a general attack, and to close upon us, and these were immediately followed by discharges of arrows. Their canoes then proceeded to surround us, and we were compelled to fight them up to our middles in water. We were detained a considerable time here, partly owing to the attacks of the enemy with their lances and arrows, partly to the depth of the mud on the shore, from which we could not extricate ourselves but with great difficulty; and Cortes in particular, was obliged to leave one of his buskins behind him in it, and come to land barefooted. We were just at that time in very great difficulty, but as soon as we got to the dry land, with our general at our head, calling upon St. Jago, we fell upon the enemy, and forced them to give a little ground. They then fell back behind some circular works constructed of large timber, until we also drove them from thence, and entered by certain small gateways into the town. We then drove them before us up the street to a second barricade, behind which they posted themselves, fronting us valiantly, whistling, and shouting, "Al calachioni," or "kill the captain." While we were thus engaged, the party commanded by Captain De Avila and which had marched from the point of Palmares arrived, and joined us most opportunely. He had been retarded on his route, in crossing marshes and breaking down barricades, whereby he arrived at the most convenient moment, for we had been detained longer than we expected in making the summons which I have related. We now drove the enemy before us, though they fought manfully and never could be made turn their backs, until they arrived at a great enclosed

court, where were some large apartments and halls, and three houses containing idols. Here they had collected all their effects, but as they were forced to evacuate this last post, our general ordered a halt, and that they should be pursued no farther.

Cortes took possession of the country for his Majesty and in his royal name in the following manner. Drawing his sword, he gave three cuts with it into a great ceiba tree which stood in the area of this enclosure, and said, that against any who denied his Majesty's claim, he was ready to defend and maintain it, with the sword and shield which he then held. This step was generally approved of, and it was formally witnessed by a royal notary. It gave cause for secret murmurs however amongst the party of Velasquez. In these actions fourteen of our soldiers were wounded; I received a slight one, and eighteen of the enemy were left dead upon the field. Here we posted strong guards, and halted for the night.

On the next day Cortes detached Captain P. de Alvarado with one hundred men, to march through and reconnoitre the country for the distance of two leagues round our post. On this occasion the interpreter Melchorejo being ordered to attend, it was found that he had deserted on the preceding night, leaving his clothes behind him. This vexed Cortes much, as it was to be apprehended that he could convey to his countrymen intelligence very injurious to us. Our general detached a second party of equal strength and upon the same duty under Captain Francisco de Lugo. This last mentioned detachment had not marched far, when it fell in with several large bodies of the enemy's warriors, who attacked our people on all sides, insomuch that all the valour of De Lugo and his soldiers could not repulse them and he was obliged to fall back, which he however did with great regularity, to our quarters, sending before him a swift Indian of Cuba to call for succour. Alvarado with his detachment had advanced somewhat farther, to the distance of above a league

from the town, when his progress was intercepted by an arm of the sea, or river. Being obliged thereby to march in another direction, it was the will of God that he should come within hearing of the musketry, and the instruments and shouts of the Indians with whom De Lugo was engaged. He immediately flew to his relief, and the two bodies joining repelled the enemy and retreated towards the town, in which we who occupied it had at the same time been attacked by great bodies of the enemy, whom however we soon made retreat by the effect of our musketry and cross-bows, and our good swords. As soon as Cortes received intelligence that his detachments were engaged, he sallied out at the head of all of us who could carry arms, and we met our companions in their retreat, at about half a leagues distance. They had lost in the engagement two soldiers of the company of Captain de Lugo, and had in all eleven wounded. We returned with them to the town, bringing with us three prisoners, one of whom appeared to be a chief. We were informed by them that Melchorejo had advised them to attack us by day and by night, whereby they would, he said, destroy us, being so few. The native who told us this we released and sent to his countrymen with an amicable message, but he never returned, and Aguilar was informed by the others, that we were to expect to be attacked by the whole force of the warriors of that country.

When Cortes understood the formidable preparations which were making against us, he ordered the horses to be landed, and all the wounded men who were able to march to turn out. The horses when first brought to land were very dull and torpid, but in the course of a day they recovered their spirit. Several of our best and most alert young men were at this time taken so ill and weak by an ailment in the reins, that they could not stand on their feet, or help themselves: we could only account for it from their good living in Cuba, and the heat of the weather, and weight of their arms. Cortes ordered them to be put on board the ships, and

assigning the horses to the best horsemen, he furnished each with a breastplate with bells hanging to it, and gave his cavalry general instructions not to halt, or make thrusts with the lance, until the enemy were put to flight, but in their attack to point at their faces. He selected the following officers and soldiers to serve in the cavalry. Christoval de Oli, P. de Alvarado, A. H. Puertocarrero, J. de Escalante, F. de Montejo, Alonzo de Avila, J. V. de Leon, Francisco de Morla, Lares (called by way of distinction the good horseman,) Gonzalo Dominguez another excellent horseman, Moron del Bayamo, and P. Gonzales de Truxillo. This body was commanded by Cortes in person. The artillery he put under the command of Mesa, the infantry under that of Diego de Ordas, and the colours were borne by Anthonio de Villaroel. Being thus arranged and appointed, our whole force took the field early on the morning of the day of our lady in the month of March, after hearing mass, and proceeded to the plain of Cintia, our cavalry making a circuit in order to avoid some marshy ground.

Having marched about a league we saw the enemy in the plain in our front, advancing against us, sounding their trumpets, horns, and drums, with plumes of feathers on their heads, their faces painted black, red, and white, all of them bearing defensive armour of quilted cotton, and shields, and their offensive arms consisting of large bows and arrows, lances, two handed swords, darts, and slings. Their numbers covered the whole plain, and they fell upon us furiously, wounding above seventy of our soldiers by the first discharge of their missile weapons. One soldier fell instantly dead by an arrow which pierced his ear: his name was Saldana. The enemy then closed upon and fought with us foot to foot, while we with our cannon, musketry, cross-bows, and swords, maintained our ground firmly. When they had pretty well experienced the sharpness of our swords, they drew off a little, but it was only to shoot at us with more advantage; our artillery now however made great havoc amongst them

from the manner in which they were crouded together, and they were at that distance which enabled us to fire at them with the greatest advantage; but all could not make them give way.

I advised Captain de Ordas to close with them, because they seemed to be shy of our swords, and had the advantage of their missile weapons when at a little distance; but he objected to this, observing that they were three hundred for every one of us. However we did advance upon them, and as they were unwilling to come within the reach of our swords they yielded ground, and inclined towards a marsh. During all this time we were anxiously looking out for Cortes, and very apprehensive that he had met with some disaster.

I recollect that in this battle, every time that the cannon were fired, the Indians shouted, whistled, and sounded their instruments, throwing up straw and dust in the air, and crying, "Ala, lala;" this they did to prevent our perceiving the mischief done by our artillery in their crouded bodies. While we were engaged as I have now described, we were rejoiced at the sight of Cortes approaching to our support. As the cavalry came round by the rear of the Indians, who were intirely occupied in their attacks upon us, the latter did not perceive them until they made their charge. The ground being very level, most of the horses active, and the men expert, they now rode through the bodies of the enemy as they chose, and we, encouraged by this support, reiterated our efforts on our side. The Indians struck with surprise thought that the horse and his rider were one; they were terrified at the sight, and in an instant fled to the adjacent woods and marshes, leaving the field and victory to us.

Being thus masters of the field, after taking breath Cortes related to us how he had been retarded in his march by bad ground, and the attacks of some bodies of the enemy who had wounded five of his men and eight horses. The cavalry then dismounted, and under a grove of trees on the field of battle, we gave thanks to God and our Lady his blessed

mother with uplifted hands, for the victory which they had given to us; in consequence whereof, and on account of the day on which the battle was fought, a town was afterwards founded on that spot named Santa Maria de La Vitoria. We next proceeded to take care of our wounds, which we bound up, and those of the horses we dressed with the fat of the Indians whom we found dead thereabout. We then walked over the field to examine the loss of the enemy, which we found to amount to upwards of eight hundred, dead or dying of their wounds by cannon shots, and those of our small arms or swords; also where the cavalry had charged we found them to lie very thick. For the first hour of this battle we could not force the enemy to yield us an inch of ground, nor did they until they saw the cavalry coming on them.

We made five Indians prisoners, two of whom appeared to be chiefs; the day was growing late, and we were fatigued; we therefore retreated to our quarters, first burying two of our soldiers, who were killed, one by a wound in the ear, and the other by one in the throat, and then, after dressing our wounds with the fat of Indians, and having placed good guards round our post, we eat our suppers, and went to our repose.

In his account of this action Gomara says, that previous to the arrival of the main body of the cavalry under Cortes, Francisco de Morla appeared in the field upon a grey dappled horse, and that it was one of the holy apostles, St. Peter or St. Jago, disguised under his person. I say, that all our works and victories are guided by the hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that in this battle, there were so many enemies to every one of us, that they could have buried us under the dust they could have held in their hands, but that the great mercy of God aided us throughout. What Gomara asserts might be the case, and I, sinner as I am, was not worthy to be permitted to see it. What I did see was, Francisco de Morla riding in company with Cortes and the

rest upon a chesnut horse, and that circumstance, and all the others of that day appear to me at this moment that I am writing, as if actually passing in the view of these sinful eyes. But although I, unworthy sinner that I am, was unfit to behold either of those holy apostles, upwards of four hundred of us were present, let their testimony be taken. Let enquiry also be made how it happened, that when the town was founded on that spot, it was not named after one or other of those holy apostles, and called St. Jago de la Vitoria, or St. Pedro de la Vitoria, as it was Santa Maria, and a church erected and dedicated to one of those holy saints. Very bad christians were we indeed, according to the account of Gomara, who when God sent us his apostles to fight at our head, did not every day after acknowledge and return thanks for so great a mercy! Would to heaven that it were so, but until I read the chronicle of Gomara I never heard of it, nor was it ever mentioned amongst the conquerors who were then present.

I have related how we made two chiefs prisoners in the late battle; having been kindly treated by Cortes, and exhorted to induce their countrymen to come into amicable terms, they were dismissed for that purpose, after having been presented with a number of beads, and artificial diamonds. These Indians faithfully executed their mission; and to such an effect, that the chiefs of the province immediately sent fifteen of their slaves with their faces besmeared with black, and in wretched habits, in sign of contrition for what had passed, and bearing fowls, roasted fish, and maize, as a present. Cortes received them with kindness, but the interpreter speaking somewhat angrily to them said, that it was with chiefs, and not with slaves that we were to treat.

On the ensuing day thirty Indians of rank came in good dresses with another present, and to request permission to inter their dead that they should not be eaten by lions and tygers. This being granted them, they proceeded to burn and inter the bodies. They also informed us that on the

next day we should receive an embassy to treat conclusively of peace. Accordingly, at the time mentioned, ten chiefs richly dressed arrived with much ceremony, and saluted Cortes and the rest of us; they brought with them vessels of incense which they offered to us, demanding pardon for the past, and declaring their good intentions in future. Cortes assuming a grave countenance told them they deserved death for their neglect of our former offers of peace; but that our great Monarch Don Carlos had enjoined us to favour them so far as they should deserve it, and in case of their adopting a bad line of conduct, they should again feel the effect of our vengeance. He then caused a cannon to be fired, the noise of which terrified them, whose imaginations were under the impression of its being a living creature; and the noise of the ball in the neighbouring woods confirmed them in their way of thinking. One of the most spirited of the horses was then brought into the apartment, and it being so contrived that he should show himself to the greatest advantage, his apparent fierceness, and his action, struck the natives with awe. Shortly after this twenty Indians of burthen arrived bearing provisions for our use. Cortes conversed a long time with the chiefs, who at length took their leave, highly contented with the result of their visit.

On the ensuing day we were visited by many chiefs of the neighbouring districts, who brought with them presents of gold wrought into various forms, some resembling the human face, others of animals, birds, and beasts, such as lizards, dogs, and ducks. Also three diadems, and two pieces in form like the sole of a sandal, with some other articles of little value, nor do I recollect the amount of the whole. They also brought some mantles of very large size, but that part of the present which we held in the highest estimation was twenty women, among whom was the excellent Donna Marina, for so she was called after her baptism. Cortes thanked the chiefs for their visit, but caused it to be intimated to them, that the certain indication of peace was, the return

of the inhabitants to their town, which by their authority he expected to see done within two days, and this was accordingly complied with in the time prescribed. They also on being called on to renounce their idolatrous worship, declared a ready assent upon that point. Cortes explained to them the mysteries of our true faith, and those parts of it which are represented in the crucifix, and the image of our Holy Virgin. To this the caciques replied that they admired the "Tecleciguata," which in their language signifies a great princess.

When these people were questioned as to their hostilities against us they excused themselves by saying, that they had been instigated thereto by the cacique of Champoton, and also by our Indian interpreter who deserted from us. This man Cortes was very anxious to lay hands on, but to his enquiries concerning him the answer was, that he had fled: it came to our knowledge however afterwards, that he had been sacrificed. Being questioned as to the place where they obtained their gold they replied, that it was on the west, and they frequently repeated, "Culchua," and "Mexico," words, the signification of which was at this time unknown to us. We had here an interpreter named Francisco, who had also been with Grijalva; he did not understand the language of Tabasco in the least, but knew perfectly what they meant by the word Culchua, which country, he endeavoured to explain to Cortes, lay far within the land.

On the ensuing day, an altar being built and the crucifix erected, the town of Tabasco changed its name for that of Santa Maria de la Vitoria. The twenty Indian women who had been brought to us, were upon this occasion baptized, the Rev. Father Bartholome de Olmedo preaching to them many good things touching our holy faith. Donna Marina, the principal of them, was a woman of high rank, which indeed she shewed in her appearance; and these were the first christian women in New Spain; Cortes gave one to each of his captains, and we remained here five days longer, taking

care of our sick and wounded. This time Cortes employed in conciliating the natives, recommending to them to preserve their allegiance to his Majesty our Emperor, whereby they should ensure our protection to them: this they promised faithfully to perform, and these were the first of the natives of this country who became vassals to the Spanish monarchy.

On the next day, (Palm Sunday) with the assistance of the natives a cross was made in a large ceiba tree on the spot where the battle was fought, in order to afford a long memorial thereof, for this tree has the quality of reproducing its bark. The natives attended at the adoration of the holy image and cross, which we went in procession to pay our devotions to, on this festival. They then at our requisition assisted us to make our preparations to re-embark, our pilots wishing to get far off that coast, which the wind at this time blew strongly upon; and all things being prepared, and Cortes having taken leave of the natives, in the evening of this day the troops went on board, and on the ensuing morning sailed for St. Juan de Ulua.

As we proceeded along the coast, those of us who had been there before with Grijalva pointed out to Cortes the different places we saw on the land, saying, here Sir is La Rambla, and there Tonala or St. Anton: more forward we shewed him the great river of Guacacualco, the lofty mountains covered with snow, those of St. Martin, and Roca Partida. We then shewed him the rivers of Alvarado, and Vanderas, Isla Blanca, and Isla Verde, and close to the land Isla de Los Sacrificios, and early in the evening of holy Thursday we thus arrived at the port of St. Juan de Ulua. I recollect that while we were pointing out these places to Cortes, a cavalier named Puertocarrero came up to him and said, "It seems to me Sir as if these gentlemen who have been here before are making their exhibition, as it were, here you see Montesinos of France, and here you see the great city of Paris, and here the waters of the Duero where they run to the sea. But I say see the rich lands, and look to your measures!" Cortes

very well understood the purport to which this was spoken, and replied, "God give us fortune in arms like the Paladin Roldan, and for the rest, having you gentlemen for soldiers, I shall know very well how to act to good effect."

The young native who was baptized by the name of Donna Marina, and who rendered such essential services in the sequel, was the daughter of the chief or Prince of Painala, a powerful lord who had several districts subject to him, eight leagues from Guacacualco. He dying while this lady was an infant, his widow married another chief, a young man, by whom she had a son whom they determined to place in succession after them. They therefore gave this girl to certain Indians of Xicalango to carry off secretly, and caused it to be rumoured that she was dead; which report they corroborated by taking the advantage of the death of a child about her age, the daughter of a slave. The people of Xicalango gave her to those of Tabasco, and the latter to Cortes, by whom she was presented to a cavalier named Alonzo Hernandez Puertocarrero: when he went to Old Castille, Cortes took her to himself, and had by her a son who was named Don Martin Cortes, and who was a commander of the order of St. Jago. She afterwards on our expedition to Higueras married a cavalier named Juan Xaramillo.

Donna Marina had by her birth an universal influence and consequence through these countries; she was of a fine figure, frank manners, prompt genius, and intrepid spirit; an excellent linguist, and of most essential service to Cortes whom she always accompanied. I was acquainted with her mother, and her half brother, who was at the time I knew him grown up; they governed their territory conjointly, the second husband being also dead. They were afterwards baptized, the mother by the name of Marta, the son by the name of Lazarus; this I know, for in the expedition to Higueras, when Cortes passed through Guacacualco, he summoned all the neighbouring chiefs to meet him in that settlement; and amongst many others came the mother, and half brother of

this lady. She had told me before that she was of that province, and in truth she much resembled her mother who immediately recognised her. Both the old lady and her son were terrified, thinking that they were sent for to be put to death, and cried bitterly, but Donna Marina dried their tears, saying, that she forgave them, that at the time they sent her from them they were ignorant of what they did; and that she thanked God, who had taken her from the worship of idols to the true church, and was happier in having a son by her lord and master Cortes, and in being married to a cavalier like her husband, than if she had been sovereign of all the provinces of New Spain. All this I heard with my own ears, and swear to the truth thereof. Amen. At parting she gave them a very handsome present of gold, and thus dismissed them. This story brings to my mind that of Joseph in Egypt, when his brothers were in his power. Donna Marina understood the language of Guacacualco and Mexico which is one and the same, and as she also could converse with Aguilar in that of Tabasco and Yucatan, we thus acquired a medium of communication with the Mexican language, which was an object of great importance to us.

Chapter iv.

Arrival of the Armament commanded by H. Cortes, at St. Juan de Ulua. Transactions and Occurrences there.

On Holy Thursday of the year 1519, we arrived at the port of St. Juan de Ulua, and Cortes hoisted the royal standard. In about half an hour, two large canoes called piraguas full of Mexicans set off from the shore to visit the ship which bore the flag. When these people came on board, they enquired for the lord, or as they express it Tlatoan, who was pointed out to them by Donna Marina. They then advanced to Cortes with great respect, and informed him that a servant of their sovereign Montezuma had sent them to wait upon him, to know who we were, what our business was, and if we were in want of any thing, in which case they had orders to supply us. Cortes thanked them, and having made them a present of some cut glass, ordered an entertainment to be served up, after which he declared that the object of his visit was, to see and treat with the people of those countries; that no one should sustain any injury by him, and that he hoped they would have cause to be satisfied with his arrival there.

On Good Friday we disembarked the cavalry, infantry, and artillery, on the sand hills of which that coast is composed; and having posted our artillery, and raised an altar, we constructed temporary barracks. On the ensuing day we were visited by many of the natives, who brought hatchets wherewith they proceeded to work in making the huts, that of Cortes especially, more convenient; they also brought mantles to guard us from the sun, and a present of gold, fowls, bread, and plumbs. Those who brought them in-

formed Cortes, that on the next day the governor of the province intended to wait upon him.

At the appointed time, on the day of the feast of the resurrection, a nobleman named Tendile who was the governor spoken of, accompanied by Pitalpitoque afterwards called Ovandillo, and attended by a great train of followers bearing various articles of provision, with much respect and ceremony, advanced, and made three reverences to Cortes and the soldiers who were about him. Cortes went to meet and bid the two chiefs welcome: he then caused mass to be said, after which the tables were placed, and he together with certain of his captains and the two Mexican lords, sat down to dinner. Their repast ended, and having withdrawn together he informed them, that he was the vassal of the greatest prince in the world, who had sent us thither, to wait upon the king of those countries, whose fame had reached him, in order to contract a treaty of peace and amity, and to tell many things to him of the greatest import to be known. To this Tendile somewhat haughtily replied, saying, "How is this? You are but just arrived, and you talk of seeing our monarch: receive this present which he sends you, and it is time enough to think of other things afterwards." He then took out of a chest many pieces of gold well wrought, which he presented to Cortes, together with ten loads of fine mantles of white cotton adorned with plumage; and many other things, which, it being so long ago, I do not recollect. After these followed an abundant supply of provisions, such as fowls, fruit, and roasted fish. Cortes in return presented them with artificial diamonds, and requested that they would encourage the natives to come and barter with us, which they promised to do. We afterwards learned that these noble Mexicans were the governors of the provinces named Cotastlan, Tustepeque, Guazpaltepeque, Tlatalteclo, and other districts which had been lately reduced to subjection under their monarch. Cortes then produced as a present for the great Montezuma, an arm-chair elegantly carved and

painted, some artificial jewels called margajitas envelloped in perfumed cotton, a string of artificial diamonds, and a crimson cap with a gold medal whereon was represented St. George killing the dragon. These he desired Tendile to present to his master in the name of our sovereign, and to signify to him at the same time, his request to know when he might be permitted to wait upon him. To this the Mexican nobleman replied, that his monarch would be happy to hold an intercourse with our emperor, and that the application should be immediately made, and an answer transmitted.

With this embassy some of the ablest painters of Mexico had been sent, who drew representations to the life, of the countenance of Cortes, the other captains and soldiers, Donna Marina, Aguilar, and even the greyhounds, guns, and balls. Cortes perceiving this, in order to impress the people and their monarch with a formidable idea of our power, caused the guns to be loaded with a high charge of powder, and mounting his horse, ordered the cavalry down to the wet sands, which were hard, to exercise under the command of P. de Alvarado. He took care to call the attention, as it were by accident, of the ambassadors at the moment that the guns were fired, and as the air was calm, the explosion, and noise of the balls through the trees, struck the natives with astonishment, and these circumstances were immediately represented in the painted cloths.

Tendile who was the most acute of the two in appearance, remarked at this time a partly gilt helmet with one of our soldiers, and observed that it resembled one which had belonged to their ancestors, and which was placed on the head of their god Huitzilopochtli; he therefore expressed a wish to carry it to Montezuma. Cortes immediately presented it to him, saying at the same time, that in order to ascertain what resemblance existed between the gold of the two countries, it would not be amiss to return it filled with grains of that metal, as a fit present for our Emperor. Tendile now

took his leave, assuring Cortes that he would speedily return with the answer to his request. The intelligence of what had passed, together with our presents, was rapidly conveyed to Montezuma by this officer, who was as eminent for his swiftness of foot, as for his rank. That Monarch was most particularly struck with the sight of the helmet; and it impressed strongly on his mind the idea, that we were the men destined by heaven to rule those countries.

The other lord, Pitalpitoque, established his residence in a temporary building, at a little distance from our camp, his people supplying the table of Cortes with provisions, and the soldiers subsisting by barter. Thus six or seven days passed, at the expiration of which time, we one morning perceived Tendile approaching, followed by upwards of a hundred men bearing presents. With him came also a great Mexican lord, who in countenance, feature, and person, strongly resembled Cortes; and the reason of his being joined in the embassy was, that when the paintings were exhibited at the court, every one was immediately struck with the resemblance which the portrait of Cortes bore to this lord, who was named Quintalbor. The likeness was so strong, that whilst he remained among us in camp, we in speaking of them used to say, this, and the other Cortes.

On the arrival of the ambassadors in the presence of Cortes, they touched the ground with their hands and kissed them, and with their vessels of incense fumigated him and the rest. After some conversation, mats and mantles being spread out, the presents were displayed upon them. The first was a plate of gold of the size of the wheel of a carriage, representing the sun, admirably wrought, and said to be worth upwards of twenty thousand crowns; a larger one, equally wrought, of silver, representing the moon; the helmet already mentioned filled with gold in its native state to the amount of three thousand crowns, but the information we hereby obtained of the value of the mines we estimated

at more than thirty thousand; thirty pieces of wrought gold representing ducks, very well executed, others in the forms of deer, dogs, lions, tygers, and apes; twelve arrows; a bow with the cord; two rods like those borne by officers of justice, five palms long; ten collars, and many other ornaments, all of fine gold, and cast, or moulded work. After these were produced plumes of feathers represented in gold, others of silver, together with fans of the same materials, beautiful penaches of green feathers, thirty loads of the finest cotton cloth, with many other things which I cannot now recollect.

All these being laid before Cortes, the ambassadors made a speech, wherein they told him that with the same good will that their monarch sent the present, it was hoped he would receive it, and divide it as he thought best among the Teules with him. They also communicated to him a message from the great Montezuma to this effect; "That he rejoiced in the arrival of such brave men in his country as the accounts he had received proved us to be; that he much wished to see our great emperor, and to communicate by a reciprocation of presents with him; and that he was ready to render us any services; but that as to visits to his court, they were attended with many difficulties, and he did not wish for them." Cortes received this message with apparent good humour, and presented each of the ambassadors with holland shirts and other articles of small value, but replied by observing, that after having crossed such a vast space of sea, he could not return without executing the mission which he had been sent upon, which was, to see and speak to the Emperor Montezuma in person, such being the orders of our great monarch, which he was compelled and determined to obey. The ambassadors replied that they would convey his message, but gave no hopes of a favorable answer. Out of our poor means Cortes contrived to send by them a second present; it consisted of a glass cup of Venetian manufacture, curiously gilt and wrought with figures, three holland shirts,

and some other articles. With these the two ambassadors returned to Mexico, leaving Pitalpitoque to take the charge of provisioning our camp.

Cortes seeing that these uninhabited sand banks infested by mosquitos were disadvantageous for a settlement, ordered Francisco de Montejo, with two small ships, to proceed along the coast for the space of ten days sail, in search of a port in a better situation. Montejo advanced as far as the great river of Panuco, which he could not pass on account of the violence of the currents. He accordingly returned without being able to report any information, except that twelve leagues from this place, he had seen a town or fortress named Quiabuistlan, and near it a harbour which appeared to the pilot to be secure to the north. It was afterwards called Puerto del Nombre Feo from its resemblance to one of that name in Old Spain. In this expedition Montejo employed ten or twelve days, during which time the Mexican lord who was intrusted with the care of our provisions, relaxed so much, that we began to experience great distress; our bread grew rotten, and unless we were successful in fishing we might starve, for the few Indians who occasionally brought fowls valued them much higher than they had done at first.

After waiting for some time very impatiently, the Mexican ambassador Tendile returned, with a present of ten loads of the finest mantles of cotton and feathers. Montezuma also sent four jewels called calchihuis, resembling emeralds, most highly valued by the Mexicans, and various articles of gold, to the amount of three thousand crowns. The two noblemen, Tendile and Pitalpitoque, for the third who resembled Cortes had fallen ill on the road, informed our general that the great Montezuma had received his present with much satisfaction, but that as to the interview, he could not permit any more to be said on the subject. That these rich jewels each of which exceeded in value a load of gold were intended for our emperor, and that herewith all farther intercourse with Mexico was precluded. Cortes,

CORTES SCUTTLES HIS FLEET TO CUT OFF ALL CHANCE OF RETREAT.

though greatly mortified, thanked them politely, and turning to some of us who were present said, "Truly this is a great monarch, and rich: with the permission of God we must see him." To which all the soldiers replied, that they were ready to march. At this moment the bell tolled for the Ave Maria, and all of us fell on our knees, before the holy cross.

The Mexican noblemen being very inquisitive to know the meaning of this, Cortes hinted to the Rev. Father Bartholome the propriety of a sermon, such as should convey to them the truths of our holy faith. Fra. Bartholome accordingly preached, like an excellent theologian which he was, explaining the mysteries of the cross, at the sight of which the evil beings they worshipped as gods fled away. These subjects and much more he dilated upon, and it was perfectly explained to, and understood by the Mexicans, who promised that they would relate all they had seen and heard to their sovereign. He also declared to them, that amongst the principal objects of our mission thither, were, those of putting a stop to human sacrifices, injustices, and idolatrous worship; and then, presenting them with an image of our Holy Virgin with her son in her arms, he desired them to take it with them, to venerate it, and to plant crosses similar to that before them in their temples.

A number of articles of gold were now brought in order to barter by the natives, and with this we paid for the provisions, principally fish, which we could procure; this was our only present resource against absolute want; we were mostly provided with those toys which were in request among the Indians, and with them we procured the gold, which as soon as obtained was paid to our fishermen, who were chiefly the mariners of the fleet. Cortes well knew of this private trade, nor did it afford him dissatisfaction, as he considered it a furtherance of his views, though he concealed his mind upon the subject.

The partizans of Velasquez however began now to grow jealous at this practice, and demanded Cortes to make such

regulations as should bring all the gold which had been, or was in future to be purchased, into one common stock, under the care of a treasurer. To this Cortes consented, and named for the purpose one Gonzalo Mexia. He then turned to those who had made the application and with an angry countenance said, "Look you gentlemen! Our companions suffer under want; I therefore thought it prudent to connive at what was doing; all they obtained amounts to a mere trifle, with the blessing of God we have great and splendid prospects before us; it is now proclaimed, as you have desired; see if the soldiers will in future be able to procure food." It is upon this transaction that Gomara relates, that it was done as a piece of art by Cortes, to induce Montezuma to think that gold was no object with the Spaniards; but the application for the casque to be returned filled with gold, and other previous circumstances must have fully convinced him to the contrary.

One morning at this time, we were disagreeably surprised by perceiving that all our Mexican neighbours had quitted us without taking leave. This we afterwards learned was done by the order of Montezuma, who was determined to permit no more conferences. It seems this monarch was greatly bigotted to the worship of his idols, to which he every day sacrificed boys, in order to obtain directions how to act. Their commands were, that he should hold no farther intercourse with us, and they forbid the reception of the crucifix in Mexico. This was the cause of the flight of our former neighbours, which gave us an alarm and we prepared for hostilities.

One day whilst I and another soldier were sentinels upon the sands at some distance from our post, we remarked the approach of five natives, whom, in order not to create an unnecessary alarm in the camp, we suffered to come up close to us. These men saluted us in a friendly manner, and by signs desired to be brought to our camp. I therefore left my comrade at the out-post, and attended them thither, for I then

had the full use of my limbs, far otherwise than at present that I am worn down and old. When I had brought them to Cortes they saluted him with great reverence, addressing him with the title of Lopelucio, or lord, which is the signification of the word in the Totonaquean language. These Indians were very different in their appearance from the Mexicans, and they wore in their ears large rings of stone painted blue, and very fine leaves of gold in their lips. As their language was unintelligible to our interpreters, Donna Marina asked in the Mexican if any of them could speak in that dialect; to which two of them answered in the affirmative, and immediately proceeded to say, that their lord had sent them to congratulate us on our arrival; that he would be proud to serve such brave men as he had heard we were, and would have waited upon us before, but from dread of the people of Culchua, who were with us. In the course of conversation Cortes was pleased to find that Montezuma had enemies in the country; he dismissed these men with presents, and desired them to assure their chief, that he would shortly pay him an amicable visit. These people were ever after named the Lopelucios.

The sands we had remained on during this time, were infested by the small mosquito, which is much the most troublesome of all, and under whose attacks it is impossible to sleep; our bread was rotten, and we had hardly any thing else to eat. The faction of Velasquez, and those who had good plantations in Cuba therefore began to be very tired of our present situation, which indeed required some change, and Cortes prepared to proceed to the fortified town named Quiabuistlan. Upon this the persons I have alluded to grew more querulous than before; they complained that they should be worn down by the attacks of the natives of this vast country, having already lost above thirty-five of our number, and that it was preferable to return and report to Velasquez what we had done. To these remonstrances Cortes replied, that hitherto we had no cause to complain of

fortune; that death was the fate of war, and it was our faults if we wanted while we lived in a plentiful land; that it was impossible to quit this country without seeing more of it, and he trusted in God's assistance. This in some degree calmed, but by no means extinguished the spirit of the party which had formed itself.

Cortes had now obtained from Puertocarrero, Alvarado and his four brothers, De Oli, De Avila, Escalante, De Lugo, and myself, together with other officers and cavaliers, promises of our support in appointing him to an independent command, and this was suspected by Montejo who closely watched all our motions. One night very late, Puertocarrero, Escalante, and De Lugo who was a distant relation of mine came to my hut, and said to me, "Senior del Castillo get your arms and join us to attend Cortes who is going his rounds." I accordingly did so, and as soon as we had quitted the hut, they told that they wanted some conversation with me, which it was not proper for my comrades, who were of the faction of Velasquez, to hear. One of them then addressed me as follows; "Senior del Castillo it is now the third time that you have visited this country to your cost and loss; Cortes has deceived us; he said in Cuba that he had powers to establish a colony, whereas they went no farther as at present appears than to traffic, and now we are to return to Cuba and assign all our wealth over to Velasquez. Here are many of us determined to take possession of this country under Cortes in his Majesty's name, and until his royal pleasure is known: Cortes shall be elected our general, and we expect you will give him your vote." To all this I most heartily and immediately assented, and we went through the different huts thus canvassing for Cortes. The affair was soon known to the party of Velasquez which was much more numerous than ours; they immediately went to Cortes, and haughtily desired him to desist from these underhand proceedings; they told him that it was his duty now to return to Velasquez who had sent him, and that we were not by any means provided

for the establishment of a colony. To this Cortes mildly replied, that as in duty bound he would instantly return; but we who were of the other party now exclaimed against him for having deceived us in asserting that he had a commission to colonize, whereas it appeared that it went no farther than barter; adding, that we demanded a fulfilment of his original engagement with us, as necessary for the service of God and his Majesty. That once we were settled more soldiers would join us, and that Velasquez had drawn us to our ruin, by inducing us to come here in hopes of a settlement, and disappointing us; and we concluded by saying, that those who chose to return to Cuba were welcome to do so.

We then insisted on Cortes accepting the command of us who were determined to try our fortunes in this new country, for the service of God and his Majesty: he for some time refused, but at length acceded, for as the proverb says, "You ask me that, to which I have already got my own consent," and thus he was appointed our captain general, and supreme magistrate. The worst part of the business was, the power which we gave him, to draw for himself, one fifth of all the gold after that of his Majesty was deducted. However with all these authorities and privileges he was formally invested, before a royal notary, Diego de Godoy. It was now determined to proceed immediately to the foundation of a settlement and town, which we named De la Vera Cruz, because we arrived here on Holy Thursday, and disembarked on Good Friday, and we called it Villa Rica, from the words of a cavalier, who said, "Behold the rich lands." We also appointed civil magistrates, the two first alcaldes being A. H. Puertocarrero, the cavalier I have just alluded to, and Francisco de Montejo; the latter was no friend to Cortes, and it was for that reason he was from policy appointed to this situation. A gallows was erected in the square of the town, and another at some distance out of it. Pedro de Alvarado was appointed captain of the expeditions, Chris-

toval de Oli maestre de campo, Juan de Escalante Alguazil mayor, Gonzalo Mexia treasurer, Alonzo de Avila contador, and one Corral standard bearer, for Villaroel who had held that situation was displaced, on account of some umbrage Cortes had taken against him about an Indian woman of Cuba. Ochoa Viscaino, and Alonzo Romero, were appointed military alguazils. If it is asked now, why I do not name Gonzalo de Sandoval that valiant captain, who was noticed by our great monarch the emperor, I reply, that he was at this time a stripling, and had not acquired the fame in arms he afterwards obtained.

The steps which we had taken enraged the faction of Velasquez beyond all measure; they were almost ready to break out into acts of violence, and uttered the most mutinous expressions. Juan de Escalante now, having previously concerted the measure with Cortes, demanded in the name of us all, a sight of the instructions given by Velasquez. The tenor of them was as follows; "As soon as you shall have procured the utmost quantity of gold that is to be had, return." We requested this instrument, in order that the whole of the proceedings should be laid before his Majesty; a necessary precaution as afterwards appeared, from the steps which were taken against us by the Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rossano, Don Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, for so he was named, who wished, throughout, to destroy us all.

The adherents of Velasquez now declared, that they would not remain under the command of Cortes, but would return to the Island of Cuba; to which Cortes replied, that it was not his wish to detain any one contrary to his inclination, even though he should remain alone. This pacified many, but Juan Velasquez de Leon a relation of the Governor of Cuba, Diego de Ordas, Escobar who had been his page, Escudero, and others were not to be reconciled; so that Cortes was obliged to arrest them, and keep them for a time in irons.

Chapter v.

The Spanish Army advances into the Country.

THE wants we experienced now required some relief, and Alvarado was accordingly sent with a hundred soldiers principally of the party of Velasquez, to search the country, and procure maize, and other provisions; for it was thought most politic, that the whole of those who were friends to Cortes should remain with him. It must be observed that this neighbourhood where the language of Culva was spoken, was dependent upon Mexico. Alvarado proceeding on his expedition, marched to some small villages, dependencies of the district, named Costitlan, which the inhabitants had quitted a short time before his arrival. In their temples he found the bodies of men and boys lately sacrificed, the stones on which the horrid ceremony was performed, and the knives yet smoking; the limbs were severed from the bodies, and taken away, as our people were informed, to be eaten. These shocking scenes astonished our soldiers, but we every where as we proceeded through the country found similar ones. In these villages they obtained abundance of provisions, of which they stripped them, without doing further damage, by the strict orders of Cortes, and returned with two prisoners to our quarters, where we rejoiced in the novelty of good fare: for, as the saying is, all hardships and misfortunes are supported with a hearty meal.

The address and activity of Cortes made him daily acquire an interest amongst the former adherents of Velasquez, some with gold which breaks the solid rocks, and more with promises were successively drawn over to him. He first brought his prisoners from the ships where they had been in confinement, and in a few days released them entirely, attaching

them sincerely to his interest, and all by the softening effects of gold.

We now proceeded to the fortress of Quiabuistlan, and on our march thither along the coast, I recollect that we passed a great fish which was left behind by the tide. We then arrived at a river where the present town of Vera Cruz is built, and crossed it to a village on the opposite side. The district was subject to the great town of Cempoal, to which the five Indians belonged who visited us with golden ornaments in their under lips. In some temples we found the instruments and remains of human sacrifices, much plumage of parrots, and books of the paper of the country, folded in the manner of cloth of Castille; but the natives had all fled, and no provisions were to be found.

We now quitted the coast, and struck into the country towards the west, where, in some large plains without any beaten track, we saw herds of deer feeding. Alvarado with his swift chesnut mare gave chace to one of them, which he wounded with his lance, but the animal escaped from him into the woods. Just at this time twelve Indians came to us, bearing provisions; they had been sent by their chief with an invitation to go to his town, which was distant one day's journey. Cortes thanked them, and we proceeded on, to a town where we halted for the night. We found here the remains of human sacrifices, both of men and women, with the repetition of the further details of which, I will not tire the reader.

Early in the morning we proceeded under the conduct of our friendly Indians, and sent forward to the chief of Cempoal to inform him of our approach. When we came within a league of the place, we were met by twenty principal persons, who presenting Cortes and the cavalry with very odoriferous flowers tied in bunches, told him, that they came with an excuse on the part of their chief, who was so fat and unwieldy that he was not able to come out, but had sent them

to invite us to his town. Cortes thanked them, and we proceeded. When we entered, we were surprised with the beauty of the buildings and situation, and the various plantations of trees. All the streets as we passed were filled with men and women, attracted by curiosity. Our advanced guard having gone to the great square, the buildings of which had been lately whitewashed and plaistered, in which art these people are very expert, one of our horsemen was so struck with the splendor of their appearance in the sun, that he came back in full speed to Cortes, to tell him that the walls of the houses were of silver. When we came to know the reality we all laughed heartily at him, and used in future to say that every thing that was white, was silver in his eyes. These buildings were appointed for our lodgings, and large apartments assigned to us, which contained the whole; and here the fat cacique, for so I am in future to call him, came to pay his respects to Cortes. They had provided an entertainment for us, with baskets of plums, and bread of maize. We were well pleased with our situation, and named the town Villa Viciosa; though some called it Seville. Cortes ordered that the soldiers should give no umbrage to the inhabitants, and that we should for that reason remain in our quarters.

As soon as the fat cocique understood that we had dined, he signified to Cortes his intention of waiting on him, which he shortly after did, attended by many of the principal inhabitants, dressed in rich mantles, and ornamented with gold. Cortes went out to meet them with great ceremony, and having embraced the fat cacique, the latter ordered a present to be brought, composed of gold and mantles, but of little value, which he offered to Cortes, saying, "Great lord, receive this present kindly, for if I had more it should be yours." Cortes answered that he would repay it with good works, and desired to know what services he could render him, having been sent by the emperor whose vassal he was,

to redress wrongs, punish the wicked, and prevent the sacrifice of human souls. He then said many things to him concerning our holy faith. As soon as the fat cacique had heard them out, giving a deep sigh, he complained bitterly of Montezuma and his officers, saying, that having lately been compelled to submit to the yoke of that monarch, he had seized all his gold, and now held him completely enthralled.

Cortes promised that he would soon take such measures as should free him from the tyranny he complained of. The cacique then made a very discreet answer, and they parted for the present. On the ensuing day we quitted this place attended by above four hundred Indians to carry our baggage. These persons are called Tamenes: they carry a burthen of about fifty pounds for the space of five leagues, where they are relieved; and we understood that in peaceable and orderly times, in these countries, each cacique was obliged, on demand, to provide them through his district. At night we arrived at a village hard by the town of Quiavistlan, where we found a good supper provided for us by the care of the fat cacique.

At ten o'clock in the forenoon of the ensuing day, we entered the fortified town of Quiavistlan, situated upon a rock of very difficult ascent, with our artillery in the front. Though I may be charged with breaking in upon my narrative to relate old stories, I must mention, that as we were marching up to this place, Captain A. de Avila, an ill-tempered man, being angry with a soldier named Villanueva for breaking his rank, gave him a thrust of his lance in the arm which lamed him ever after; he was therefore in future called Villa nueva el Manquillo. We advanced to the middle of the city without any resistance, or even meeting an individual; but on approaching the temples, which were upon the principal square, we saw fifteen persons dressed in rich mantles, who approaching Cortes presented him with incense, and apologizing for the absence of the people,

through fear, invited us to repose ourselves, and promised that before night the inhabitants should return. Cortes informed them of that which related to our mission, in the service of our great emperor, and holy faith, and presenting them with some trinkets, desired that they would send us a supply of provisions, which they instantly did.

Cortes was now informed of the approach of the fat cacique, who shortly appeared, borne in a litter by his principal nobility; and on his arrival, he immediately joined with the chiefs of this place, in bitter complaints of the tyranny of Montezuma; one of the heaviest articles of which was, his demand of their children for the purposes of sacrifice, or slavery; and they asserted that this was the practice, with many other acts of outrage committed by his officers, through the whole of the country where the language of Totonaque was spoken; a tract which contained above thirty towns. Cortes consoled them, promising redress, and whilst they were thus conversing a person came to inform the chiefs, that there were just then arrived five Mexican officers, or collectors of tribute. This intelligence drove the colour from the cheeks of all the natives, and they went trembling, to receive them, leaving Cortes quite alone.

For these officers lodgings were prepared with the greatest dispatch, and chocolate got ready for their refreshment. As they went to their apartments they passed us by with great state, not deigning to cast a look upon Cortes. They were dressed in mantles elegantly wrought, and drawers of the same; their hair shining, and as it were tied at the top of the head, and each of them had in his hand a bunch of roses, which he occasionally smelt to. They were attended by servants who fanned them, and each of whom carried a cord and a hooked stick. They were also attended by a numerous company of the principal persons, who did not quit them until they had taken their refreshment, after which they sent for the fat cacique, and those of this place, and gave them a severe reprimand for receiving and entertaining us, con-

trary to the will of their sovereign, Montezuma; and having used many threats of punishment, they concluded with a demand of twenty men and women to sacrifice to their gods, in order to expiate the offence.

This being made known to our general he acquainted the caciques, that in conformity to his duty, he deemed it proper to seize the persons of these officers, until their lord, Montezuma, should be informed of the tyrannies they committed on his subjects. This proposal terrified and astonished the chiefs, and they at first refused to lay hands on them, but Cortes was determined, and caused them to be seized and fastened by the neck in a kind of pillory made of large staves and collars. They were so fixed as not to be able to stir, and one of them also being refractory was beaten soundly. Cortes then proclaimed that neither tribute nor obedience should be paid to Montezuma, and this he ordered to be made universally known through these districts, and also, that wherever he should hear of any officers of Montezuma coming, he would send for and arrest them. The intelligence of these measures soon spread through the country, which the natives said were to be attempted only by superior beings, or Teules, the name which they give to their idols, and by which they henceforward distinguished the Spaniards.

The chiefs were now violent to sacrifice the officers, whom before their arrest they hardly dared to look at; and this they said was in order to prevent them from conveying intelligence to Mexico; but when it came to the knowledge of Cortes, he prevented it by taking them into his own custody, and putting them under a guard of soldiers. At midnight he caused two of them to be untied, and brought secretly into his presence; when they came before him, he asked them, as if ignorant of what had happened, what country they belonged to, and why they were kept prisoners. They answered, "That they had been seized by the caciques and people of that town, who were favored and encouraged in it

by him and us." To this Cortes replied, "That he knew nothing of it, and was very sorry for what had happened." He then caused food to be brought to them, and treating them with great kindness, desired that they would go and inform their sovereign how much he wished to be his friend and servant. He also promised that he would release their companions, and reprimand the caciques for what they had done. He then desired them to go away as fast as they could, but they informing him that it would be their destruction to attempt to pass through the country, he sent them by a boat with six sailors, who had orders to put them on shore beyond the territory of Cempoal.

In the morning, when the caciques found that two of their prisoners were flown, they were very determined on sacrificing the rest, but Cortes assuming the appearance of great displeasure at the loss, ordered a chain to be brought, in which he sent the remainder of the Mexicans to the ships, and this he did to get them out of the power of the others, for as soon as they were on board he released them, with a promise that they should soon be permitted to return to Mexico. The caciques now reverted to Cortes for advice how they should act, as Montezuma must inevitably know the manner in which his officers had been treated, and would in consequence overwhelm them with his great armies; to which Cortes with a cheerful countenance replied, that he and his brothers there would guard them against all attacks. The caciques on their part offered to support us with all their powers, and they at this time entered under allegiance to his Majesty before Diego de Godoy the royal notary, and caused proclamation thereof to be made through the province, the people of which rejoiced in the exemption from the vexatious demands of Montezuma's officers.

The strong alliance which we had now made, induced us to lose no time in establishing our settlement in so advantageous a situation. For the scite of our town we chose a plain, half a league from the fortress where we now were;

and tracing out the foundations of the church, square, arsenal, and fort, we raised all the buildings to the first story, and also the walls and parapets of the fort, with loop holes and barbacans. Cortes was the first to carry earth, or stones, or dig in the foundations; and his example was followed by all the officers and soldiers, some digging, and others making the walls of clay, bringing water, and at the kilns making bricks and tiles; others seeking provisions or timber, and the smiths preparing the iron work. In this manner we continued, until, with the assistance of the natives, we had nearly completed the church, houses, and fortresses.

At this time, it appears, the great Montezuma received intelligence of the manner in which his officers had been treated, and of the rebellion of the provinces. He was much enraged with Cortes, and had ordered two armies to march, one to punish his refractory subjects, the other against us, but when they were ready to set out, the arrival of the two officers whom Cortes had released, and the account of the manner in which they had been treated while in our power, assuaged his anger, and induced him to send us a peaceable message. For this purpose he selected two of his nephews, whom he sent to us under the care of four old noblemen of the first rank about his court, with a present of gold, and mantles, worth two thousand crowns, and also to return his thanks to Cortes, for the civility shewn to his officers; but adding a complaint of his having instigated these people to throw off their allegiance, for which he would at a future opportunity punish them, though he refrained from doing so at the present, on account of our being amongst them; because he was convinced that we were those of whom the ancient prophecies had spoken, and that we were of the same ancestors with himself. Cortes informed the ambassadors, that he and all of us were the most humble servants of the great Montezuma, for whom we had taken care of those officers, three of whom were now on board of our ships, and

these he ordered to be immediately brought and delivered to their friends.

Cortes then complained of Montezuma, and the uncivil flight of his officer the governor, saying, that was the reason of his now coming to this country, where he had received much kindness; hoping what had passed would be pardoned, and that as to tribute, it was not possible to serve two masters, and the people of these provinces were now the vassals of our lord the emperor; but that he expected soon to wait on the great Montezuma, and then every thing should be done to his satisfaction by us. He presented the young princes with glass diamonds and beads, and treated them with much honor, ordering the cavalry out to exercise in their presence, a sight which afforded them great satisfaction; after which they returned to Mexico, very well contented with their visit.

Cortes at this time lost his horse, whose place he supplied by that called El Harriero: he was a dark chesnut and one of the best that were brought to New Spain. The embassy sent by Montezuma had the greatest effect on the people of those countries, for said they how formidable must those Teules be, whom even the great Montezuma fears!!

The fat cacique now waited on Cortes, to complain of the outrages committed by a garrison of Mexican troops which occupied a town called Cingapacinga, nine leagues distant from the place where we were. After some consideration, Cortes laughing said to those about him, "Gentlemen you see that these people esteem us to be a superior race of beings, let us encourage the prejudice, and impress them with the idea that one of us is enough to drive an army before him. For this purpose I will send old Heredia the Biscayan musketeer, whose fierce and scarred face, great beard, one eye, and lame leg, will terrify them." This man had been a soldier in Italy. Cortes told him when he had gone as far as the river to fire a musket as a signal, for he did this only to

try how far the credulity of the Indians in our favor would carry them. Heredia being present, he called to the caciques saying, "Go with this Teule, whom I send to kill or make prisoners all your enemies." The caciques set out with their party accordingly, being headed by the old soldier, who went firing his musket before them out of the town. As soon as he arrived at the river he gave the signal, and Cortes sent to stop them, having sufficiently tried their faith, and when they returned he informed them that it was his intention to proceed against their enemies with his whole force.

When the soldiers were warned for this duty, those of the party of Velasquez refused to obey orders, saying, that they would go on no expedition, but insisted on returning to the Island of Cuba. The number of mutineers who openly declared themselves was seven; when these were brought before Cortes and asked by him how they could behave so ill, they insolently replied, that they wondered at his idea of colonizing amongst such numbers of the natives; that for their parts they were tired of being dragged about, and would go to their plantations in Cuba. Cortes replied that he would not oppose their going, though he disapproved of their conduct; accordingly they embarked, and brought their provisions of bread, oil, and vegetables, on board, and one of them named Moron sold a good horse to one Juan Ruano, who was to pay for it by an assignment of certain articles of his property in Cuba.

Just as the vessel was ready to sail, the soldiers, headed by the alcaldes, and other civil officers of the settlement, waited on Cortes with a request that he would permit no persons whatever to quit their colours, a crime for which those who committed it deserved to suffer death. Cortes for some time appeared to be unwilling to withdraw the permission, but at length suffered himself to be persuaded, and the seven malcontents were obliged to come back to us and sustain the ridicule their conduct brought on them; Moron also lost his horse, which the other kept, referring him for

the payment, to his assignment on his property in the Island of Cuba.

Our internal troubles being appeased for the present, Cortes set out upon his expedition with four hundred soldiers, being joined at Cempoal by a thousand of our allies divided into four companies. The first days march was five leagues, and on the ensuing day we reached the outskirts of the town of Cingapacinga, which was built among steep and difficult rocks. When the inhabitants heard of our approach, a deputation of eight of their chieftains was sent to Cortes, and being brought into his presence, these persons with tears in their eyes asked him why he came to destroy them, who had given no occasion for such an aggression, adding that this surprised them the more from the celebrity of our justice, which had reached them; and as to our allies of Cempoal, their malevolence against them was founded upon an old dispute about boundaries, and now they took advantage of our support to rob and murder them. They admitted that a Mexican garrison had been in their town, but it had retired on the arrest of the officers of Montezuma. They therefore prayed that we would grant them our favor.

As soon as this was explained to Cortes, he gave orders to his troops not to suffer any of the allies to advance. This order was speedily communicated, but they were already plundering the people in the suburbs, at which Cortes was greatly enraged, and ordering the captains into his presence, he commanded them to return what had been taken, adding, that they deserved the punishment of death for their misrepresentations, when their real and evident intention was, to rob and sacrifice their neighbours: an injustice which we were bound to prevent or redress. The chiefs of Cempoal, duly impressed by these menaces, instantly surrendered their prisoners and plunder. Cortes then, with an enraged countenance commanded them to quit the place for the night, which they accordingly did. This conduct won the hearts of the people of the district, and both chiefs and priests listened

attentively to, and were convinced by, the truths which Cortes told them relative to our holy faith, and his exhortation to quit their abominable worship and customs, insomuch that, calling in the people of the neighbouring districts, the whole engaged under allegiance to his Majesty; after having done which, they made heavy complaints of the tyranny of Montezuma.

On the ensuing morning, Cortes called for the chiefs of Cempoal, and effected a permanent reconciliation between them and this people. We then departed by a different route, and being much fatigued, we halted in a town which was in the district of the place we had left. It happened here that a certain soldier named De Mora, took two fowls from the house of one of the inhabitants, and Cortes on hearing of it was so incensed at such an outrage being committed in a peaceable country, that he immediately hung him up, but Captain de Alvarado drawing his sword, cut the rope just in time to save the poor man's life; this soldier was afterwards killed in an action at a rock in Guatimala. I mention the circumstance as a proof of the strictness with which Cortes enforced discipline.

Proceeding from the place where this happened, we arrived at some huts where we found the fat cacique waiting for us with refreshments and provisions. Our conduct on this expedition made the natives hold us in higher estimation than before; for although untaught, they could see that justice is holy and good, and that the behaviour of Cortes was conformable to what he professed, when he declared that he came to redress and prevent tyranny. Here we rested for the night, and on the ensuing day all the caciques attended us to our lodgings in their town.

They were doubly interested now to retain us amongst them, for they were in great dread of the vengeance of Montezuma; they therefore in order to fix us proposed an intermarriage, and for that purpose offered to us eight ladies, all of the first families, who were introduced richly dressed,

and ornamented with gold collars and ear rings, and attended by a number of female slaves. The fat cacique then said to Cortes, "Tecle or lord, these seven young women are for the captains of your army, and this my niece who is proprietor of towns and vassals, I beg leave to present to you." Cortes received the offer as it merited, but took the opportunity to observe, that in order to strengthen the friendship with us, it was necessary that they should first renounce their idolatrous worship, the abominable custom of male youths appearing in women's dress, and their human sacrifices; for every day our sight was offended by the repetition of four or five of these horrid murders, the unfortunate victims being cut up and their limbs sold in the public markets, as beef is in the towns of Old Castille. He also added, that before we could accept their proposal relative to these ladies, it was necessary that they should undergo the ceremony of baptism.

The chiefs and priests replied, that they could not think of renouncing the worship of their gods in any respect: but as to the other evil practice a stop should be put to it. This answer however did not by any means satisfy us, and Cortes strongly represented the necessity of suppressing by force their idolatrous worship, and his determination, though it cost the lives of all, on that very day to prostrate their false gods. For this purpose we therefore immediately got under arms, and then Cortes declared his intention to the chiefs. As soon as the fat cacique heard it, he ordered the people to arm and assemble in defence of their temple, and they all appeared greatly agitated; but when they saw that we were preparing to ascend the great flight of steps, the chief abovementioned came up to Cortes and expostulated with him, asking him why he proceeded upon a measure whereby he would bring destruction upon them and us also. Cortes answered that he was determined since they paid no regard to what he said, to hurl their pretended gods down the steps. The chiefs replied, that they were unworthy to approach

them, but if we were resolved on doing what we said, they could not help themselves. Accordingly, they had hardly said this, when fifty of us going up for the purpose, threw down and broke to pieces the enormous idols which we found within the temple, some in the form of dragons, others of half human shape, and others like dogs. At this sight the chiefs and priests wept and prayed for pardon, but the warriors prepared to attack us with their arrows. Perceiving their intention, we immediately seized the fat cacique and six more chiefs and priests, Cortes exclaiming, that if any outrage was attempted, they should every man die that moment. The fat cacique then called to his warriors to desist, and matters being soon brought to a state of quiet, Cortes took an opportunity of haranguing the people upon the subject of religion.

He next ordered that the fragments of the idols should be burned, and immediately eight priests who used to have the care of them came, and collecting them together, brought them into the temple, where they were consumed.

These priests were dressed in long black mantles like sheets with hoods resembling those of our canons hanging to the shoulders, their robes reached to the feet, and they had a smaller hood like the dominicans. Their long hair was matted together with clotted blood; with some it reached to the waist, and with others to the feet, their ears were torn and cut, and they smelt horribly, as it were of sulphur, and putrid flesh. They were said to be all of noble families, and they were addicted to the evil practice of the country. On certain days they fasted: I have seen them make food of the seeds or kernels of the cotton plant, what else they might have used at other times I cannot say.

Cortes then harangued the people, saying that now we were really brothers, Montezuma should no longer oppress them, and he would place them under the protection of the great Lady whom we adore, the mother of Christ, with many other good and holy reasons and arguments, which could not

be better expressed by any one, and all which the people listened to with great attention. He then caused a number of Indian masons to be collected, with lime, which abounded in that place, and had the walls cleared of blood, and new plaistered. He also constructed an altar which he hung round with rich mantles, and adorned with wreaths of roses. The temple being thus purified and cleaned, he commanded four priests to cut off their hair, and change their black garments for white ones, and entrusted them with the care of the altar, and he placed an old soldier named Juan de Torres de Cordova, who was lame, as a hermit to reside in the temple. He also planted a cross against a column of timber, and on the next day mass was said there by F. Bart. de Olmedo. We likewise taught the natives to make candles of wax, and they were enjoined to keep them always burning before the holy altar.

The principal persons of this and the neighbouring districts attended at divine service, and the eight ladies were at this time baptized and instructed in our holy faith. The niece of the fat cacique was named Donna Catalina; she was as ugly as possible, but the general received her by the hand affectionately. Puertocarrero was more fortunate; his lady was for an Indian very handsome; she was the daughter of a great cacique named Cuesco, and was called Donna Francisca. The alliance consolidated the friendship between us and this people, of whom we now took our leave, and returned to Villa Rica.

On our arrival we found a vessel from Cuba in the harbour, commanded by one Francisco Saucedo, called el Pulido on account of his affectation of finery and manners. Luis Marin a very able officer, and ten soldiers with two horses were on board. We learned by these people that Velasquez had received from Old Spain his authority to barter and colonize. This, with his appointment to the commission of adelantado of Cuba, put his friends in our army in very great spirits.

The works of our town were nearly finished, and many of us now grew anxious to pay a visit to the great Montezuma, and expressed to Cortes our wish to try our fortune. Consultations being held hereon, it was determined in the first place to send a deputation to his Majesty, with an account of what we had done, and also with the gold and other articles of value which had been obtained. This determination was agreed to by Cortes, and was immediately carried into effect, and Diego de Ordas, and Francisco de Montejo, two men of business, going through the whole of the officers and soldiers, and representing to them, that, although to such as claimed their share it should not be denied, yet it was for the general interest that the whole of the treasure should be sent to his Majesty, all our companions gave their consent, and renounced their claim to a partition. Alonzo Hernandez Puertocarrero, and Francisco de Montejo were named as our agents, the last mentioned of whom Cortes had already secured in his own interest by a gift of two thousand crowns. By these gentlemen Cortes wrote his private letters, the contents of which we never knew. The council also wrote conjointly with those of the soldiers who were most solicitous for the establishment of the colony, and the election of Cortes as captain general. In this letter nothing was omitted that could serve our cause; my hand was to it with the rest: and besides these, a letter to the following purport was written in the name of the whole army.

Beginning with the expressions of respect due to so great a monarch, it proceeded to inform him of the events which had occurred during our expedition, to the period of our election of Cortes, until his Majesty's pleasure on the subject should be known; with our engagement to yield him a fifth of all treasure, after the deduction for his Majesty. It also contained an account of our discovery of the two Spaniards in this country, and our war in Tabasco, until we brought those people to submission to his Majesty, and to embrace our holy faith, of our obtaining two excellent linguists, of our

arrival at St. Juan de Ulua, and our interviews with the ambassadors of Montezuma; our subsequent march into the country, and our alliance with the people here, who had in consequence renounced obedience to the Mexican monarch, of the expedition to Cingapacinga, the construction of our fortress, and our present determination to advance into the country, to the court of the great Montezuma. The letter also gave an account of the military and religious customs of the inhabitants, of the former expeditions of our countrymen, and an enumeration of the various articles of treasure which we sent by our agents, and how we also sent by the same opportunity, four natives, whom we rescued out of the cages of Cempoal, where they were fattening for victims. After these accounts we further stated, how we were at present four hundred and fifty soldiers, surrounded by hosts of enemies, and ready to lay down our lives for the service of God, and his Majesty, and we supplicated, that his Majesty would be pleased not to bestow the government of so great and rich a country, which deserved to be ruled by a great prince or lord, on any unworthy person. We also stated to his Majesty our apprehension, that the Governor of Cuba might be attempted to be put in upon us, through the interest of his patron the Bishop of Burgos, whom he had attached to him by the assignment of valuable estates in that Island, in which he failed in his duty to his Majesty, who was by right entitled to them. That these things we were bound to represent, and await the return of his gracious answer prostrate on the ground; and that if the Bishop of Burgos sent any person over us, we should suspend our obedience, until his Majesty's pleasure was known, and that in the mean time, we remained under the command of his Majesty's faithful servant Cortes, whose merits we exalted to the skies.

This being all drawn up in due form, our general desired to be permitted to read it, and on the perusal he expressed his highest satisfaction thereat. The only two articles he

excepted to were, the mention of his share of the treasure, and of the names of the preceding discoverers; for it seems that he had in his private letter ascribed all the honor and merit to himself. These parts he desired to suppress, but there were not wanting those who told him, that his Majesty was to know, not only the truth, but the whole truth. This business completed, the letters were intrusted to our agents, with strict injunctions by no means to touch at the Havannah, nor at the port of El Marien, as we wished to keep the affair from the knowledge of Velasquez.

After mass on the twenty-sixth of July 1519 our agents sailed, and arrived safely at the Havannah, in direct opposition to our instructions, for, Puertocarrero being sick, Montejo compelled the pilot Alaminos into his views, on the pretence of getting provisions from his estate at El Marien. As soon as the ship cast anchor, Montejo sent a sailor on shore with letters and advices to the Governor Velasquez, and this man as he went through the Island proclaimed the news of all that had happened in the army under Cortes.

Velasquez on receiving the intelligence communicated by Montejo, as is said, heartily cursed Cortes, his secretary, and the contador, by whose advice he had chosen him. He immediately sent two vessels armed in search of our ship, of which the unwelcome intelligence was soon received, that she was by that time considerably advanced towards Europe; and with this news his vessels returned to St. Jago, making Velasquez more disconsolate than ever. He lodged a complaint before the Bishop of Burgos, and the court of royal audience in St. Domingo, but the reverend fathers sent him back an answer highly favorable to us, whose services they were by this time made acquainted with. This answer, which was brought by a licentiate named Zuazo, or arrived about the same time with him, vexed the governor so much, that from being very fat, he grew quite lean. He now made the utmost exertions to collect a powerful armament in order to

overwhelm us, on which business he went in person, and by the fury and determination he exhibited, he induced most of the settlers of Cuba to take part in the expedition, and prepared a fleet of eighteen sail great and small, under the command of Pamphilo de Narvaez.

Our agents passing the canal of Bahama, under the guidance of Alaminos, the first pilot who ever navigated through it, proceeded to the Islands of Terceras, and from thence to Seville; and in a few days arrived at the court, which was then at Valladolid; the Bishop of Burgos being president of the royal council of the Indies. Our agents went to wait on him in great spirits, expecting a gracious reception, but having presented their letters and requested a speedy transmission of them and their present, to his Majesty, who was then in Flanders, the bishop returned a very repulsive and haughty answer, saying, that he would make his own representations of our conduct, in having thrown off our obedience to the governor of Cuba. The arrival of Benito Martinez the chaplain of Velasquez at this time, contributed much to set our affairs in an unfavorable situation, and the bishop in consequence of a remonstrance which was made to him by A. H. Puertocarrero, one of those employed by us, and a cavalier of rank, caused him to be thrown into prison, on a pretended misdemeanor, in carrying away with him to the Indies a woman of Medellin, named Maria Rodriquez. All this it was necessary, according to the dictates of prudence, to keep silence upon, until the proper time and place.

The bishop now wrote to his Majesty, representing the transactions in the most favorable light for Velasquez, and the most opposite one for us, and entirely suppressed all mention of our letters, or presents, of which he appropriated a great part to his own use. Our agents then, in concert with Martin Cortes father to the general, and the licentiate Nunez, relator of his Majesty's royal council and a near relation to Cortes, with the countenance of some noblemen their friends, and others who were jealous of the haughty

manners of the bishop, resolved to send the duplicates of our letters to his Majesty, and also others, complaining of the partiality of this prelate. It was the will of God that the said accounts should reach his Majesty's hands, and that he should be well pleased with them, insomuch that, for many days, nothing was talked of but the services of Cortes, and us his soldiers. The Emperor was ever after dissatisfied with the Bishop of Burgos for the part he had acted. When he heard the turn our affairs had taken at court he was more furious against Cortes and the rest of us than ever, but it was the will of God that by the time two years more had elapsed, his courage should be cooled, for he was censured, while we continued to be held in estimation as loyal subjects to his Majesty, and the Emperor was pleased to say, that he would shortly come to Castille, and there attend to our memorials, and reward our services.

In four days after the departure of our agents, a plot was formed by certain persons who were enemies to Cortes on various accounts, such as the return to Cuba being precluded to them, and their being deprived of a share of the gold. Amongst these conspirators were one Escudero, and one Cermeno, Gonzalo de Umbria a pilot, Bernaldino de Coria, a clergyman named Juan Diaz, and certain sailors who had been whipped in Cozumel. It was determined amongst them to seize a vessel and sail for Cuba, there to give information to Velasquez of the departure of our agents, and this plan was suggested by some persons of consequence. Their scheme was frustrated a few hours before they were to have sailed, by the repentance and discovery of De Coria, who revealed it to Cortes. They were in consequence seized, and being examined confessed the whole, and accused several others; but of these no farther notice was taken. The prisoners were all condemned except the priest, whose orders protected him, but he got a great fright. Escudero and Cermeno were hanged, the pilot Umbria had his feet cut off, and each of the mariners received two hundred lashes. I

remember when Cortes was ratifying this sentence, he gave a deep sigh and exclaimed, "How happy is he who is not able to write, and is thereby prevented from signing the death warrants of men." It seems to me that this expression is very frequently affected amongst judges, and that it was borrowed from the cruel Nero at the time he counterfeited the appearance of being a good emperor. As soon as the sentences were executed, Cortes posted off at full speed to Cempoal, commanding two hundred soldiers, and all the cavalry, as also a detachment which was out under Alvarado, to follow him.

In the consultations which we held at Cempoal upon our intended expedition to Mexico, the friends of Cortes advised him to destroy the fleet, in order to prevent attempts similar to that related in the last chapter, and also to obtain so considerable a reinforcement as the whole body of mariners, who amounted to above a hundred. It appeared to me that Cortes had already determined this in his own mind, but he preferred that it should come as an application from us, in order that if damages were sued for on account of the loss incurred, we should be all responsible as himself. Cortes therefore ordered his friend Juan de Escalante who bore a bitter enmity to Velasquez on account of not being given a good district in Cuba, to dismantle the ships, and then sink them, retaining only the boats for the purpose of fishing. Escalante executed this service, and returned to Cempoal with a company formed of the mariners, many of whom turned out very good soldiers. Cortes now summoned the chiefs of these people who had renounced their allegiance to Montezuma, and enjoined them to render all services in their power to the party he left in Villa Rica, and to assist them in completing the town. Then taking Escalante by the hand he said, "This is my brother: obey him in whatever he desires you to do, and if you require assistance or protection against your enemies, recur to him, and he will give it to you." This the caciques all promised to perform, and I recollect they immediately hereupon began, much against his will and

endeavours, to fumigate Escalante with their incense. This officer was placed here in order to repel any attempts which might be made by Velasquez, as he was thoroughly attached to the interest of Cortes. Gomara here asserts that Cortes dared not publish to the soldiers his intention of marching to Mexico. I beg to be informed what is the disposition of a Spaniard? Or when it ever happened that he was not ready to march forward? He also errs where he says Pedro de Ircio remained commandant in Vera Cruz. I say again that Juan de Escalante was captain, and also alguazil major. Pedro de Ircio was not fit to be a corporal, nor is it just to take from one what belongs to him, and give it to another.

After having rendered the vessels unserviceable, but not privately as Gomara asserts, being one morning assembled after mass, and conversing on military affairs with Cortes, he desired our attention, and addressed us, saying, "We now knew the business which was before us; that with the aid of our Lord we should conquer, and it was necessary to do so, for in case of a defeat there was no escape; nor had we any support but in our valour, and the mercy of God." To this he added many comparisons of our situation with those drawn from the history of the ancient Romans. We one and all replied, "That we were prepared to obey him; that the lot was now cast, let fortune take what turn she would, as Cæsar said in passing the Rubicon, for that all our services were devoted to God and his Majesty." Cortes then addressed us again in a very eloquent and impressive speech, which having concluded, he called for the fat cacique, and having informed him of our determination, he injoined him to take care of our church, and holy cross.

When we were just ready to depart, a soldier arrived with a letter to Cortes from Juan de Escalante, whereby he was informed that a strange ship was then at anchor in a river three leagues distant from Villa Rica, and that he could not obtain any answer to his signals from those on board. Upon this, Cortes appointed Alvarado, and Sandoval who already

began to shew himself the officer he afterwards was, to take the command of the army in his absence; (Avila being passed by, and Sandoval preferred on this occasion, first caused a certain jealousy on the part of the former;) he then set out with four of the cavalry to Villa Rica, ordering thirty of the lightest infantry to follow him thither, which number accordingly arrived there that night.

When we arrived at Villa Rica, Escalante offered to Cortes to go with twenty men to the vessel, lest she should make her escape, and that Cortes might take some repose; but Cortes replied, that he could not think of that, for "A lame goat took no afternoon's nap." Accordingly, without eating a morsel, we proceeded along the coast, and on our road fell in with four Spaniards, who were sent to take possession of the country, by Captain Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda. One of these, who was named Guillen de la Loa, was a notary, and the rest attended him as witnesses. Cortes having questioned these men as to what brought them there they replied, that Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, had obtained from the court, a commission of adelantado and governor of such districts as he should discover on that coast, northward, from the river of St. Peter and St. Paul, by virtue of which, he had sent three ships, with two hundred and seventy soldiers, under the captain already named, who was then in the river Panuco. Cortes treated them with much kindness, and asked them if they thought that we could get possession of their ship; to which Guillen de la Loa replied that they would do their utmost to assist us, but no signs nor invitations that they made could induce those on board to approach, and we were told by them that their captain was aware of our being on the coast, and they supposed, when the boat did not come off, that we had been discovered. Cortes now bethought himself of a stratagem, and it was this; he dressed four of his soldiers in the clothes of these men, and left them there upon the spot, tracing back the way that he had come along the shore, so that we might be observed from the ship. Thus we pro-

ceeded, until we were out of sight of it, when we struck into the woods and made a stolen march back, reaching about midnight the rivulet where we had left our four companions. Here we concealed ourselves, and early in the morning our soldiers who were in disguise went down upon the shore, and made signs to those on board the vessel, in consequence of which a boat put off with six sailors, two of whom landed with casks for water. Our four men pretended that they were washing their hands, and holding down their faces endeavoured to avoid being observed, but those in the boat calling to them, one of ours replied, desiring them to come on shore. The strange voice gave an alarm, and suspecting a trick they made off: we were going to fire upon them, but Cortes would not let us. Thus we obtained six men, and returned to Villa Rica, without having eaten a morsel during two entire nights and a day.

Chapter vi.

March of the Spanish Army for the City of Mexico. Wars in Tlascala. Submission of that Nation.

Being now ready to proceed to Mexico, our allies of Cempoal proposed to us to march by the province of Tlascala, the people of which were their friends, and bitter enemies to the Mexicans. In compliance with our requisition, fifty of their principal warriors attended us, and also two hundred men to draw our guns, and thus we set out from Cempoal, in the month of August 1519, our army in good order, and patroles of cavalry, and light infantry in front.

Our first day's march was to a town named Xalapa, and the second was to Socochima, a place of difficult approach, abounding with vines. The people here were harangued through our interpreters, who informed them that we were vassals of the Emperor Don Carlos, who had sent us to put a stop to human sacrifices, and other abuses. They also explained to them many things concerning our religion, and as these people were allies of Cempoal and independent of Montezuma, we found them very well disposed to us. We here erected a cross, explaining what it signified, and that it should be held in veneration. Proceeding from this place, by a pass among lofty mountains, we arrived at another named Texutla, the people of which we found equally well disposed to us, and they also paid no tribute to the Mexican monarch. Continuing our march through desert mountains, we that night experienced great cold and storms of hail. On the next day we reached another pass, where were some houses and large temples, with great piles of wood for the service of the idols. Provisions were scarce with us for these two days, and we now approached the territory of Mexico, at a place called Cocotlan, sending forwards to inform the cacique.

Appearances demonstrated that we had entered into a new country, for the temples were very lofty, and together with the terraced dwellings, and the house of the cacique, being plaistered and whitewashed, appeared very well, and resembled some of our towns in Spain. We named this place Castel Blanco. In consequence of our message, the chief, and other principal persons of the town came out to meet us, and took us to our quarters, where they gave us paltry and cold entertainment. After supper Cortes made enquiry relative to the military power of Montezuma. He was informed, how that monarch had under him great armies, and that the city of Mexico was of uncommon strength, being founded in the water, and no passage from one house to another except by bridges or boats; that each house was terraced, and only required a parapet to be converted into a fortress; that the entrance to the city was by three causeways, in each of which were four or five apertures for the passage of the waters, and that on each of these apertures was a bridge of wood, which being raised, precluded the entrance into Mexico. We were also informed of the great wealth of Montezuma, in gold, silver, and jewels, the hearing of which filled us with astonishment, and such is the nature of Spanish soldiers, that we were anxious to try our fortunes, although the accounts we had been given, made our hopes appear almost visionary; and truly we found Mexico stronger than what it was now described to us. The cacique launched out also in the praises of his great lord, Montezuma, saying, that he ruled where ever it was his will to do so, and that he was apprehensive of his dissatisfaction at our being entertained in that place, without his licence. To all this Cortes replied saying, "That we came from a distant country, by the orders of our sovereign, to warn the great Montezuma to desist from human sacrifices, and all outrages either upon his own vassals, or his neighbours, and to require from him submission to our monarch. And," added Cortes, "I now require you all who hear me, to renounce your human sacrifices,

cannibal feasts, and other abominable practices, for such is the command of our Lord God, whom we adore and believe, who gives us life and death, and who is to raise us up to heaven." All this the natives heard with a profound silence, and Cortes then turning to the soldiers, proposed to them immediately to plant the holy cross; but the Rev. Father Olmedo objected, upon the grounds of the ill will and ignorance of the people, which might induce them to commit some outrage or indignity against that holy symbol; he therefore recommended that it should be deferred until a better opportunity.

We had with us a very large dog, the property of Francisco de Lugo, which during the night used to bark, a thing that greatly surprised the natives, who asked our allies if that fierce animal was a lion or tyger which we brought to kill them; they answered that he fell on, and tore to pieces any who offended us; they also told them that our guns sent forth stones, which killed our enemies as we pleased to direct them, and that our horses caught whoever we pursued: to which the others replied, that with such powers we were really Teules. Our allies also warned them to take special care, for that we knew their most secret thoughts, and advised them to conciliate us by a present. Shortly after we received from them some gold in different articles but very much debased, four Indian women to make bread, and a load of mantles.

I remember a particular circumstance of this place. Near some temples were laid numbers of human skeletons, so arranged that they could be counted with ease and certainty; I am convinced from my own observation that there were above a hundred thousand; I repeat it, I am sure there were more than a hundred thousand. In another part of the square, human bones were heaped up in such quantities that they could not be counted. Numbers of skulls were also suspended from beams, and all these were watched by three priests. The same thing was seen every where in some

degree, as we passed through this country and that of Tlascala.

The cacique of the place where we were, being asked by us relative to the road to Mexico, recommended that by Cholula; but our allies strongly advised us against going that way, on account of the treacherous disposition of the people, and that the town had always a Mexican garrison in it. Cortes demanding twenty of the principal persons to attend him from this place, we now quitted it in order to go to Tlascala, by advice of our allies, who promised us every advantage from that nation, and we proceeded thither, sending messengers before us with a letter and also a present of a crimson velvet cap. I must observe that although our letters were not legible to these people, they knew that such a thing was as it were an authority, or sanction of the message that was to be delivered, and of the office of those who brought it, and as such it was sent upon all occasions.

Proceeding with our accustomed order, we arrived at a village in the country of Xalacingo, and from thence sent two of our allies, with the letter, to Tlascala. At this place we received intelligence, that the whole nation was already in arms against us, on the supposition, from the number of persons who attended us, of those nations which were subject to Montezuma, that we were in alliance with the Mexican power, whose inveterate enemies they were. Having suspicion of treachery from the Mexicans by these appearances, they instantly on their arrival seized our messengers, whose return we impatiently waited for during two days, which Cortes employed in exertions for the conversion of the Indians to our holy church, by his advice and exhortations. He also demanded the attendance of twenty principal inhabitants, who readily joined him, and we at the expiration of that time continued our march, during which we met the messengers whom we had sent to Tlascala, and who had made their escape, owing to the negligence or connivance of their guards.

These Indians had not yet recovered from the terror into which they were put by what they had seen and heard, for the people of Tlascala vowed destruction to us, and all our adherents. The standard was now advanced to the front, and we all said, "If it must be so, forward in God's name." Our general then instructed the cavalry how to charge by threes in front, not halting to give thrusts with their lances, but pointing them at the height of the face; and he taught them how, if the enemy seized the lance, to wrest it out of their hands by the action of the horse, and holding the butt-end of the lance under the arm.

Having advanced about two leagues, we arrived at a kind of fortification built of lime and stone, and some cement of so strong a nature that nothing but tools of iron could have any effect on it. It was also extremely well constructed for defence. We halted to examine this work, which the people informed us was built by the Tlascalans, on whose territory it stood, as a defence against the incursions of the Mexicans. After pausing some time in serious contemplation of this object, Cortes ordered us to march on, saying, "Gentlemen, follow your standard the holy cross, wherewith we shall conquer;" to which we one and all replied, "That we were ready, for God was our true support."

After we had proceeded some distance, our advanced guard saw about thirty of the enemy, sent out to observe us. Cortes ordered some of the cavalry to endeavour to take them prisoners, while we advanced at a quick step to support the advanced party. Our cavalry attacked them, but the enemy defended themselves so well with their swords, wounding the horses severely, that our people were obliged to kill five, it being impossible to make them prisoners. A body of three thousand warriors which had been placed in ambuscade now sallied out with great fury, and began to shoot at the cavalry, who were assembled in a body; but as we at this time brought our artillery and musketry to bear upon them, they were after a time compelled to fall back,

though regularly, and fighting during their retreat. They left seventeen dead on the field, and one of our soldiers died a few days after of his wounds. Evening was now drawing on, and we did not follow them, but pursuing our march, quitted the hills for a flat country thickly set with farm houses, in fields of maize and the maguey plant. We halted for the night near a brook, and dressed our wounds with the grease we took out of a fat Indian who was left on the field; and although the people had removed all their effects and provisions, their dogs, which we caught when they returned to their habitations at night, afforded us a very good supper.

On the ensuing day, after having recommended ourselves to our God, we marched out to meet the enemy. Both cavalry and infantry had been duly prepared with instructions how to act in the attack, the former to charge, and then clear themselves of the enemy, the latter not to suffer their ranks to be broken. Proceeding on our march, we shortly met two bodies of Tlascalan warriors amounting to about six thousand in number, who attacked us valiantly with their missile weapons, shouting, and sounding their instruments. Cortes ordered a halt, and sent to them three Indians whom we had made prisoners on the preceding day, directing them to require of their countrymen a peaceable and amicable intercourse with us, who wished to consider them as brothers, and this notice and invitation he desired Diego de Godoy a royal notary to witness officially. As soon as our message was delivered, they attacked us more violently than before, insomuch that it was impossible to endure it any longer, and Cortes therefore cried out, "St. Jago, and at them." We accordingly attacked, and made a considerable slaughter of them by the first discharges of our artillery, killing, amongst others, three of their chiefs.

They now retreated towards some broken ground, where the whole army of Xicotenga the general in chief, amounting to upwards of forty thousand men, was posted under cover. In this ground the cavalry could not act, and we were forced

to pass it as well as we could in a compact column, much annoyed by the enemy, who started up, and taking the due distance, availed themselves of the expertness of their archers. These troops were all clad, and bore devices of white and red, which was the uniform of their general. Those who were armed with lances closed upon us while we were embarrassed in the broken ground, but as soon as we arrived on the plain with our cavalry and artillery, we made them smart for it. Notwithstanding this they closed upon us on every side, insomuch that we could not venture to move, and we were in the greatest danger but that the hand of God assisted us. Whilst we were engaged as I have already related, a number of the stoutest of those warriors who carried the tremendous two-handed swords, associated themselves in order to seize one of our horses; accordingly, as Pedro de Moron, an exceeding good horseman, was charging amongst them in company with three more, these warriors first seized his lance, and then wounding him dangerously, one of them with a blow of a two-handed sword, cut through the neck of the mare he rode, so that she fell instantly dead, and Moron was brought off with the greatest difficulty; for it was utterly out of the power of us who formed the battalion to quit it, from fear that the enemy should break into us completely. However on this occasion we succeeded in rescuing him out of the hands of the enemy, and we also cut the girths and brought off the saddle, but in so doing we had ten of our number wounded, and I believe that we then killed ten chiefs of the enemy, for we were fairly engaged with them foot to foot, and we used our swords to such effect that they began to retire, taking with them the body of the mare, which they cut in pieces, and sent all through the districts of Tlascala. This mare was the property of Juan Sedeno, who was at that time ill of three wounds which he had received on the preceding day. Moron died of his wounds, at least I do not recollect having ever seen him afterwards. After being engaged with the enemy

for above an hour, during which the artillery made great havoc in their thick and numerous bodies, all of us also fighting as we were compelled to do for our lives and his Majesty's service, they drew off regularly, and left the field to us, who were too much fatigued to follow them. We therefore remained in the next village, for that country was thickly inhabited, and they had subterraneous dwellings, in which numbers of people lived. The name of this place is Tehuacingo, or Tehuacacingo, and the battle was fought on the second day of September 1519.

The loss of the enemy on this occasion was very considerable, eight of their principal chiefs being amongst the number. As soon as we found ourselves clear of them we returned thanks to God for his mercy, and entering a strong and spacious temple, we dressed our wounds with the fat of Indians. Of fifteen wounded men, only one died. We obtained a plentiful supper of the fowls and dogs which we found in the village, and rested for the night under the protection of strong guards. In this and all other battles, as soon as we wounded an enemy he was immediately carried off by his companions, so that we never could ascertain the number of the dead. Fifteen of them were made prisoners by us, of whom two were chiefs.

After the fatigues suffered in the late battle we reposed for one day, which was employed in repairing our cross-bows, and making arrows. On the next, Cortes, not to give the enemy time to arrange new attacks, sent out as many of the soldiers as were fit for service, to scour the country, which is there very flat and well adapted for cavalry. Accordingly, seven of the cavalry, and two hundred infantry, attended by our allies, went out, and made prisoners twenty men and women, but without any harm whatever being done by the Spaniards. The same cannot be said of our allies, who being cruel, made great destruction, and returned loaded with fowls and dogs. As soon as we returned Cortes released the prisoners, and having given them food, and treated them

kindly, he expostulated with them upon their madness in attempting to resist us. He also at this time released two of the chiefs whom we had taken in the late battle, and sent them with a letter, and to inform their countrymen, that we only required an unmolested passage to Mexico. These chiefs waited upon their General Xicotenga, who was posted with his army at the distance of two leagues, at a place named to the best of my recollection Tehuacinpacingo, and delivering the message with which they were intrusted, the reply of Xicotenga was, "That we should go to the head town of Tlascala, where peace should be made with us by devouring our bodies, and offering our hearts and blood to their gods; and that on the next morning, he would give us his answer in person." This language, after what we had experienced, it must be confessed sounded most terribly in our ears. Cortes however did not suffer his apprehensions to appear, and treated the messengers even more kindly than before, in order to induce them to go again. He then enquired relative to the power of Xicotenga and the nature of his command. They informed him, that the army now assembled consisted of the quotas brought by five chiefs, each of which was ten thousand men. These chiefs were, Xicotenga the elder, father of the general, Maxicatzin, Chichimecatecle, Tecapaneca cacique of Topeyanco, and a cacique named Guaxobcin. Thus fifty thousand warriors were now ranged under the banner of Xicotenga, which was a white bird with the wings spread resembling an ostrich. Each division of the troops had also its own marks of distinction: this we found to be the case, and that each cacique bore them in the manner of our nobility in Castille, although when we were first informed of it by our prisoners we disbelieved it. When all this was communicated to us, being but mortals, and like all others fearing death, we prepared for battle by confessing to our reverend fathers, who were occupied during the whole night in that holy office.

On the fifth of September 1519, having brought out our

whole force not excepting the wounded, the cross-bowmen and musketeers being directed to fire alternately, so that there should always be some of each loaded, the soldiers with sword and buckler being ordered to use the points, passing them clear through the bodies of their opponents, and the cavalry being instructed to keep their ranks, and charge at half speed, pointing their lances at the eyes of the enemy, and riding through them without halting to give thrusts, with our colours flying, and four of our companions as a guard upon them, we set out upon our march. We had not proceeded half a quarter of a league, when we saw the troops of the enemy covering the plains. Each body displayed its respective device, and they advanced, sounding all their warlike instruments.

Much might be written on the subject of this great, and long doubtful battle, where four hundred men stood opposed to hosts, which surrounding them from all parts, filled these plains, extending in every direction for the space of two leagues. Many of our small number were sick and wounded, and we knew that the enemy came upon us in a determination to sweep us from the earth, and sacrifice us to their idols. Their first discharges of arrows, stones, and two-headed darts which pierce any armour, and through the body were unprotected, covered the ground; and they continued advancing until they closed upon, and attacked us with their lances, and two-handed swords, fighting foot to foot, and encouraging each other by their cries and shouts. Our artillery, musketry, and cross-bows played on them, and the home thrusts our infantry made with their swords, prevented their closing upon us as much as they had done on the former occasion. Our cavalry also charged with such effect, that, next to God, it was to them we owed the victory. At one period I saw our battalion completely broken, nor could all the exertions of Cortes for a time rally it, such was the pressure of the enemy upon us. By the sole effect of our swords, however, we at length forced them off from us, and

MAP OF THE ROUTE OF THE SPANISH ARMY FROM THE COAST TO THE CITY OF MEXICO.

were then enabled to close and form. One circumstance that preserved us was the thickness of the enemy, whereby full play was given to our artillery. Another was, that they did not know how to bring up their forces upon us without confusion, and some of the divisions could not come to the attack at all. The one composed of the warriors of Guaxocingo, was prevented from engaging by Chichimecatecle, whom Xicotenga, the commander in chief, had provoked by some insulting observation relative to the preceding battle. This circumstance we were informed of afterwards. They were also apprehensive by experience of our cavalry, our cannon, and other arms; but above all was the great mercy of God, who gave us force to sustain their attacks. Two divisions as I have observed stood aloof, from disgust at what Xicotenga had said relative to the conduct of the son of Chichimecatecle on the former occasion: this being observed by the others, slackened their ardour, and the loss of one of their greatest chiefs killed, at length caused them to draw off their forces and retire, pursued by our cavalry, though but for a very little distance, owing to their excessive fatigue. Thus being again masters of the field, we returned our thanks to God for his mercy. One of our soldiers was killed, above seventy and all the horses were wounded. I received two wounds, one by a stone, the other by an arrow; but they were not such as to prevent my doing duty; indeed if wounds had exempted us, few would have been fit for it.

We now returned to our former post, having buried our dead in one of the subterraneous dwellings already mentioned, filling and leveling it, that our loss should not be perceived by the enemy. How wretched and comfortless was our situation after our hardships and dangers! We could not procure even oil and salt; and the cutting winds of the Sierra Nevada, made us shiver again.

Cortes now sent three of his prisoners, together with those who had carried the former message, to repeat his demand of a free passage to Mexico, with threats of destruction in

case it was refused. When our messengers arrived at Tlascala, they found the chiefs of that nation much disgusted with their misfortunes and losses; still they heard our proposals with a very unwilling ear, and sent for their priests, and certain wizards who divine and foretell by casting lots, in order to learn from them, if we were vincible, and which were the most likely means of succeeding against us; also, if we were supernatural beings, and what our food consisted of. It seems their wizards informed them, that we were human beings, and subsisted as such, not eating the hearts of those we killed, as they had been told, and that though invincible by day, we were to be conquered by night, for that all our force was derived from the presence of the sun. This being believed, orders were immediately sent to their General Xicotenga to make an attack upon us during the night. Accordingly, he marched against us with a force of ten thousand warriors, who attacked out post in three different bodies, but our out parties had kept too good a look out to be surprised, and a moment was sufficient to put us under arms. They therefore met with such a reception as soon caused them to turn their backs, being, as it was moonlight, pursued by our cavalry with a considerable loss; and they returned to their post heartily sick of a nocturnal attack. I have heard it said, that finding themselves deceived by their priests and wizards, they in revenge sacrificed two of them. We had but one of our allies killed, and two Spaniards wounded in this action, and we made four prisoners; but on the ensuing day when we came to look into the situation of our army, it was far from consolatory; we were dreadfully harrassed, had lost above fifty-five soldiers by battle, sickness, and severity of weather, and had several sick; our general was ill of a fever, as was our Rev. Father Olmedo, and the expectation of reaching Mexico was now considered as a visionary idea, after what we had experienced of the resistance of the Tlascalans.

We had however in our army many cavaliers equally wise

in council as they were brave in the field, with whom Cortes never omitted consulting on important occasions, notwithstanding Gomara says that Cortes did this and that, as if he was the sole actor, insomuch that even if he had been made of iron, he could not have executed all which that historian ascribes to him. Let it suffice that he did in every respect like a good captain which he was, and this I say, that in addition to his other mercies God was pleased to give us wisdom to counsel and advise Cortes, upon all important occasions, for the best, as the result proved. But to have done with praises, we waited on Cortes, and represented to him the favors which heaven had shewn to us, and how evidently they pointed out that we were reserved for some great end, and now we advised him to release his prisoners, and by them to make a second offer of amity to these people. Donna Marina, whose spirit supported her in all dangers, and when she knew that we were upon the brink of destruction, and were in momentary apprehension of being devoured, was at this time of most essential service, for she explained to those we sent, that it was our determination, if their countrymen did not immediately treat, to march against and destroy them and their town. With this resolute message they went once more to Tlascala.

Our messengers having arrived at Tlascala, waited on the chiefs, the principal of them bearing in one hand our letter, and in the other a dart. It was the will of heaven that the Tlascalans should be now inclined to enter into terms of accommodation. The two chiefs named Maxicatzin, and Xicotenga the elder, immediately sent to invite the rest, and also the cacique of Guaxocingo their ally, and being all assembled, they represented to them, that their attacks had been ineffectual on us, and destructive to them, and that we were in hostility to their inveterate enemies the Mexicans, who had made war on them for upwards of a hundred years, by which they were now deprived of salt and cotton. They therefore proposed, that their nation should accept our

alliance, and that, in order to perpetuate it, the daughters of their first families should be offered to us as wives. To these proposals they all agreed, and sent notice thereof to their general. This chief was highly offended at it, and insisted on making another night attack upon us. The council of Tlascala being informed of this, sent orders to supersede him, but the captains and warriors refused to obey, and in consequence of his violent conduct, four of their principal and most venerable chiefs, who were appointed to wait on, and invite us to their town, were intimidated, and prevented from executing their mission.

Having remained two days without doing any thing, we now proposed to Cortes to march to a place called Zumpacingo, the chief town of the district, the people of which had been summoned, but had treated our message with neglect. Accordingly, early in the morning we set out, under the command of Cortes who was not yet quite recovered. The morning was extremely cold, the wind affecting two of our horses so much that we were afraid they would have died. Proceeding on our march, we arrived at the town before daybreak. The instant the natives heard of our approach, they fled from their houses, crying, that the Teules were coming to kill them. We halted in a walled inclosure, until it was light, when certain priests and old men came from the temples, and apologized for not having attended to our summons, ascribing their conduct to the threats of Xicotenga. Cortes ordered these people to go to their head town and desire the chiefs to attend him, in order to bring about a peace; for we were as yet ignorant of what had passed. We obtained here a good supply of provisions, and the farther advantage, that the Indians formed a favorable opinion of us, which daily gained ground. The chiefs and old men went to Tlascala, and their representations had such an effect, that orders were given to all the neighbouring people, to send in provisions to us.

Some of our soldiers began now to hold very querulous

language; more especially those who had left good houses and plantations in the Island of Cuba. Seven of them waited at this time upon Cortes, and their spokesman addressed him in a prepared oration in the manner of advice, wherein he represented to him, that above fifty-five of our companions were dead, and that we were ignorant of the situation of those in Villa Rica. That notwithstanding the mercies which had been shewn us, it was imprudent to tempt God too often, and it was necessary to avoid being brought into a worse situation than that of Pedro Carbonero, for at present there was hardly a hope of escaping being sacrificed to the idols of the natives. But that though it should please God to preserve us, still it was expedient to return to Villa Rica, and construct a vessel to send to Cuba for assistance; and they lamented the imprudence of having totally destroyed our shipping, a deed the rashness of which could not be parallelled in history. They added, that though our situation was worse than that of beasts of burthen, who if forced to labour have at least food and rest, yet they had hitherto desisted from remonstrating, as not thinking the time admitted of it, but that now the enemy were withdrawn and the country seemed peaceable, the present opportunity should not be omitted to be taken.

Cortes replied mildly, that he believed there never existed Spanish soldiers who had exhibited more valour and perseverance than ourselves, and that it was necessary to continue to do so in order to save our lives. That with our courage he was well acquainted, as he also was with many other circumstances which they had then mentioned. But, that as God had delivered us from those great perils, he hoped the same mercy would be continued to us in future. He then appealed to them if he had ever shewn himself unwilling to share dangers with us, which indeed he well might, for he was ever forward on those occasions, and continued his reply, adding, that as we had wherever we went preached to the ignorant natives the doctrines of our holy faith, he trusted

we should still receive the divine assistance, and that of his patron St. Peter. That as to destroying our ships, it was done by good advice; "And," continued he, "Gentlemen, our fame will exceed far that of the most illustrious of our predecessors, who never, as you observe, dared to take such a measure; and therefore it is better, instead of repining, to look forward, and leave all to be guided by the hand of God. As to our return, it is true the natives we had left behind are now friendly, but if we seemed to retreat, the very stones would rise against us. Therefore gentlemen, thus it is; bad there, worse elsewhere, better stay as you are, here in a plentiful country, and as to what you say of losses, deaths, and fatigues, such is the fortune of war, and we did not come here in search of pastimes and amusements. Therefore I beg of you, who are all cavaliers by your station authorized to set an example, that you no longer will think of returning, but do your duty like the valiant soldiers I have always found you to be."

The others replied deprecating still the march to Mexico; he then cut them short by saying, that according to the song, it was better to die at once than live dishonored; and Cortes being supported in these sentiments by all his friends, the complaints of these people were stifled for the present, for we all cried out that no more should be said upon the subject.

After four messages from the chiefs of Tlascala to their general, to send a peaceable embassy to us, that chief was obliged to comply. Accordingly forty Indians arrived at our quarters, sent by him with fowls, bread, and fruit; they also brought with them four old women in wretched clothing, some incense, and a quantity of parrots feathers.

Having offered their incense to Cortes, one of the men addressed him as follows: "This present our General Xicotenga sends you. If you are, as it is said, Teules, and desire human sacrifices, here are these four women; take their hearts and blood for food; as we knew not your pleasure, we have not hitherto sacrificed them to you, now do as you

chuse with them. If you are men, here are fowls, bread, and fruit; if you are benignant Teules, we offer to you this incense and these parrots feathers." Cortes replied that he had already sent to them requiring peace, as our object in coming was to make manifest the truths of our holy religion, and in the names of our God and Emperor, to prohibit human sacrifices; that we were men like themselves, but not accustomed to put any to death except in our own defence, and that they should no longer continue their mad resistance, but embrace peace when it was offered to them.

These men it seems were spies; we were warned of this by our friends of Cempoal, who informed us likewise that the people of Cimpacingo had said that Xicotenga meant to attack us. Cortes now made immediate investigation, and causing four of these Indians to be seized, they confessed the whole, and that their general was waiting only for their report, to attack us on that very night. Cortes then causing seventeen of the Tlascalans to be arrested, made their hands be struck off, and also the thumbs of others, and in that condition sent them to their chief, with an invitation to him to come and attack us; saying, that we would wait, for the space of two days, and at the expiration of that time, if he heard no farther, would come and seek for him in his post. Xicotenga was prepared to march against us, when his spies rejoined him in that lamentable state; but from the moment he saw them, he lost his courage and haughtiness. Also one of those divisions with the chiefs of which he had quarrelled, at this time quitted his army, as we were informed.

A vedette now, unexpectedly, announced the approach of a numerous train of Indians by the road of Tlascala, and his companion who had stayed to observe them, shortly after galloped in and informed us that they were hard by; we therefore conceived hopes of that which it turned out to be, an embassy of peace. Cortes ordered us all to our quarters, and on the arrival of the embassy, the four old men deputed for the purpose, advancing from the rest, went to the place

where our general was, and bowing their heads, touched the ground with their hands, and kissed them; making three more bows they then advanced, and having presented their incense they said, that they were sent on the part of the people of Tlascala, to put themselves under our protection; declaring that they never would have made war upon us, but for their belief that we were the allies of Montezuma, their mortal and ancient enemy. They added, that the first attack made upon us was by the Chontales Estomies, or mountaineers, (without their approbation,) who thought that they could easily bring our small number to their lords the Tlascalans; they then said, that they were come to solicit pardon for the offence, and that the general of their army and other chiefs should shortly wait upon us. Having finished, they bowed, touching the ground, and kissing their hands. Cortes, assuming a severe look, reproached them for the violence they had committed, but in consideration of their wish to expiate their offences he told them, that he was now willing to accept their presents and receive them into favor. He bid them immediately send their chiefs to him, as in case they failed to come he was determined to proceed in hostility against them, but that his wish was for peace; in token of which he made them a present of some artificial diamonds. The four ambassadors returned with this message, leaving those who had attended them with provisions, in our quarters. We now were convinced of the sincerity of their professions, which came in very good time, for we were heartily tired of this severe and hopeless war.

The historian Gomara says, that Cortes ascended a rock, in order to get a view of Zumpacingo. I say it was close to our station, and the man must have been blind indeed who could not have seen it from thence. He also talks of mutinies, and other things, of which he says that he was informed. I say that never was a captain in the world better obeyed than Cortes, and that no such thought ever entered the mind of any of us, nor any thing that could be so construed, except

the affair of the sands, and what I have lately related, which was only by way of advice, for the whole of our soldiers followed him most zealously, and it is no strange thing that good soldiers should occasionally counsel their chief.

The news of the great victory which it had been the will of God to give to us flew through all parts, and soon reached the ears of the great Montezuma; insomuch that this monarch, awed by the fame of our valour, sent five of the principal noblemen of his court, to congratulate us upon our successes. By them he sent a present of various articles of wrought gold, to the amount of a thousand crowns, and twenty loads of the richest mantles, with a declaration of his wish to become a vassal of our great monarch, to whom he offered to pay an annual tribute; adding, that from the esteem in which he held our general, he much wished to see him at his court in Mexico, but that he was obliged to deprive himself of that satisfaction, in consequence of the poverty of the country and badness of the roads by which he was to pass. Cortes expressed his obligation to this great monarch for the present, and his offer to pay tribute to our sovereign; he requested the ambassadors to stay and accompany him to Tlascala, with which government he had not yet made his conclusive arrangements, and desired that they would allow him to defer giving any farther answer on that day. He was now convalescent, and had taken as a medicine certain apples of great virtue, the produce of the Island of Cuba.

While Cortes was conversing with the ambassadors of Montezuma, Xicotenga and fifty of his principal warriors, all clothed in uniform habits of white and red, arrived and waited on him with great respect. Cortes received him with no less, and made him sit down at his side. The chief then told him, that he came in the name of his father, and the rest of the principal persons of his nation, to solicit our friendship, to submit to our monarch, and to apologize for having taken up arms against us, the reason of which was, the apprehension of the wiles of Montezuma. He added,

that their country was very poor, producing neither gold, silver, jewels, cotton, nor even salt, which last article Montezuma prevented them from obtaining. He said also, that what gold their ancestors had collected, he had deprived them of, and that if they did not now bring satisfactory presents, their poverty must plead their excuse. He made many other complaints of Montezuma, and concluded by earnestly soliciting our alliance. This chief was of tall stature, strong, and well proportioned; his face broad, and somewhat wrinkled; of a grave aspect, and aged about thirty-five years. Cortes treated him with every mark of friendship, and expressed his satisfaction at having been the means of inducing so respectable a nation to become vassals to our sovereign, and allies to us. The Tlascalan chief then invited him to his city, which Cortes promised to visit as soon as he had dispatched his business with the ambassadors of Montezuma. At the conclusion of the conversation however, Cortes addressed a few words to them of a more serious nature, in respect to the offences which they had committed against us, warning them to take care of their conduct in future. They all promised the utmost fidelity, and this conversation having passed in the presence of the ambassadors of Montezuma, they attempted to ridicule the credit which we gave to the assurances of the Tlascalans, which they asserted were so many deceptions, their intention being to fall on and murder us in their city. Cortes replied, that any such attempt would bring with it its own punishment, and that he was determined to march to Tlascala, if it were only in order to ascertain the sincerity of the people. The ambassadors of Montezuma then requested a delay of six days, to obtain farther instructions. This Cortes acceded to; for which he had two motives, first, his state of health, secondly, because the observations of the Mexican ambassadors afforded grounds for serious reflections. He now also sent to Juan de Escalante, informing him of what had happened, and requiring some vessels of sacramental wine, which had been buried in a

certain place, and also some consecrated bread, that which we had brought with us being used. We at this time erected a sumptuous and lofty cross in our quarters, and Cortes ordered the people of Zumpacingo to purify and whitewash a temple, which they accordingly did.

Our friends of Tlascala brought us continually ample supplies of provisions, such as fowls, and tunas or Indian figs, and they repeated their invitations, which we could not as yet accede to, consistently with the engagement which we had made to the Mexican ambassadors. At the expiration of the time which Cortes had given, six noblemen sent by the great Montezuma arrived, with a present of various articles in gold to the value of three thousand crowns, and two hundred rich mantles. They also brought a message of a congratulatory nature, and containing the most earnest request and advice, by no means to go to, or trust the people of Tlascala. Cortes received the present with every expression of gratitude, assuring them that he would repay it in good works to their monarch, adding, that, as to the Tlascalans, he was thankful for the warning, and if they attempted any treachery, would make them pay for it with their lives. At this moment he received intelligence of the arrival of the Tlascalan chiefs; he therefore requested of the ambassadors a delay of three days, before he gave his answer to them.

The ancient chiefs of Tlascala, named Maxicatzin, and Xicotenga the elder, a blind man, together with Guaxolacima, Chichimecatecle, and Tecapaneca of Topeyanco, now arrived at our station, borne on hammocks, in litters, and on men's backs, attended by a great train. Saluting Cortes with great respect, Xicotenga the blind chief addressed him saying, that they had often sent to him, to request pardon for their hostilities, which they ascribed to the suspicion they entertained of our being allied to Montezuma. But now we know, said he, who, and what you are, we would go down to the coast to invite you from your ships, and sweep the roads before you; at present the utmost we can do is, to request your

company in our city, where you shall be served in every manner that is in our power. We at the same time warn you, not to give credit to the misrepresentations of these Mexicans, who are influenced by the malice which they bear to us. Cortes returning many thanks to them, said, he would have visited them before that time, but that he wanted men to draw his cannon; upon which, in less than half an hour, above five hundred of the natives were assembled for the purpose, and early in the morning we set out upon our march, attended by the Mexican ambassadors, by the request of Cortes, who kept them near him, lest they should meet with any insult. Before I proceed, I must mention, that from this time the natives always addressed Cortes by the name of Malintzin; the reason of which was, that Donna Marina being our linguist, and interpreting to Cortes, they gave him the name of Marina's captain, which in their pronunciation was perverted to Malintzin. We entered the territory of Tlascala twenty-four days before our arrival at the chief city, which was on the twenty-third of September 1519.

As soon as the chiefs perceived that we were on our march, they went before us to provide our lodgings, and when we approached their city they came out to meet us, bringing their daughters and female relations; but each tribe, or division of inhabitants, distinct and separate; for it seems that of these there were four, exclusive of that under the government of Tecapaneca, lord of Topeyanco. Each of these tribes was distinguished by a different uniform, of cloth made of nequen, for cotton was a luxury not within their reach. The priests came with their incense pots, in loose white garments, with their long hair matted and clotted with blood which flowed from recent cuts in their ears, and the nails upon their fingers were remarkably long. They saluted Cortes with reverence, and the people, when we entered the town, crowded upon us in such numbers as to make the streets hardly passable, presenting to Cortes and

the cavalry, garlands of beautiful and odoriferous flowers. When we arrived at some large courts, in the apartments about which we were to be lodged, the two chiefs taking Cortes by the hand, brought him to that which was intended for him, and every Spanish soldier was accommodated with a bed, composed of a mat, and clothes made of nequen. Our allies were lodged near us, and the ambassadors of Montezuma, by the desire of Cortes, in the apartment next to his own. Although we had every confidence in the sincerity of the Tlascalans, yet Cortes never permitted the least relaxation in military duty; when the chiefs observed this, it gave them a jealousy, as they thought it to indicate that we harboured suspicions of them, and they spoke to Cortes on the subject in such terms as convinced us all of their sincerity. Cortes replied by assurances of his perfect reliance upon their truth, and also informed them, that it was merely a compliance with the custom of our country.

As soon as an altar could be erected, Cortes ordered mass to be said by Fra. Juan Diaz, the Rev. Father Olmedo being ill of a fever. At this many of the native chiefs were present, and after it was ended Cortes took them with him to his apartment, attended by those soldiers who usually accompanied him. Xicotenga the elder then told him, that they had prepared a present of which they requested his acceptance. Accordingly, some pieces of gold, and of cloth were produced, not altogether worth twenty crowns. The chief then addressed him, expressing his fear that he would despise such a paltry offer, but that their poverty, and the extortions of Montezuma, of whom they were obliged to purchase peace at the expence of all they possessed, were the causes of it. Cortes received their present with thanks, saying, that little as it was, he valued it more from them, as a testimony of friendship, than if others had given him a house full of gold. Xicotenga then proposed to him an alliance between our two nations, and that we should accept their daughters in marriage, making the offer of his own to Cortes.

Our general thanked him for these marks of good will, and the chiefs remained with him a whole day. Xicotenga who shewed particular attachment to Cortes, was blind; he was curious to examine with his hands, his head, features, and beard, which the general permitted him to do.

On the next day the chiefs brought five daughters of caciques, handsome in comparison to the other women of the country, well dressed, and each attended by a female slave. Xicotenga then presented his own daughter to Cortes, desiring him to assign the rest to his officers. Cortes thanked him, but observed, that for the present the ladies must remain with their parents. The chief asking the reason why he would not receive them he replied, that it was necessary first to obey the mandates of our Lord God, and the will of our monarch who had sent us thither, to put a stop to human sacrifices, and other evil practices, and bring them to the true faith in the adoration of one God. He then shewed them a beauteous image of our Lady, with her precious son in her arms, and explained to them that it was the representation of the holy Mary, who is in the heavens, and mother to our Lord, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, "Sine peccato concepta," and that she is our mediatrix with her precious son, who is our Lord God; then, said he, if you wish to be our brethren, and that we should intermarry with you, renounce your idolatrous worship, and adore our God, the good effects of which you will soon perceive in your temporal concerns, and thereby, after this life, your souls shall be taken into heaven, there to enjoy eternal happiness. Whereas, by persisting in the worship of your idols, which are devils, you will be drawn by them to their infernal pit, there to burn eternally in flames of fire. Cortes after an excellent harangue containing much more matter to the same effect, which was perfectly well explained by our interpreters, here ceased and waited their answer, which was given by the chiefs as follows. That they readily believed all that they had heard now, and before, of the excellence of our God,

and his saints, and that they hoped in time to understand more upon the subject; that in regard to the renunciation of their ancient religion, if they were to do it in their old age, in order to please us, what would their priests and the rising generation think of them? They would raise an insurrection; the more so, as the priests had already consulted their gods, who had commanded them by no means to omit their human sacrifices, and other ancient customs; as in case of failure in the observance of them, they would punish the country with famine, pestilence, and war. They therefore requested to be no more spoken to on the subject, as they could not renounce their gods but with their lives.

When the Rev. Father Olmedo, who was a wise man and good theologian, heard this, he advised Cortes to urge it no farther at present, being adverse to forced conversions, notwithstanding it had been done in Cempoal. He also observed, that the destruction of their idols was a fruitless violence, if the principle was not eradicated from their minds by arguments, as they would find other idols to continue their worship to, elsewhere. Three other cavaliers, Alvarado, De Leon, and De Lugo, also spoke to Cortes to the same effect. We however got one of the temples cleared out, and erecting an altar, converted it into a christian church, and here the ladies destined to be the brides of our officers were baptized. The daughter of Xicotenga received the name of Donna Louisa, and was taken by the hand by Cortes, who presented her to Alvarado, telling her father, that officer was his brother: at which the old chief expressed his entire satisfaction. The niece or daughter of Maxicatzin was was given to Velasquez de Leon, to the best of my recollection; she was very handsome, and took the name of Donna Elvina; and the rest whose names I do not now remember, but they were all Donnas, were assigned to De Oli, Sandoval, and Avila. After the ceremony, the reason of the erection of crosses was explained to the natives, as being done in order to terrify and expel the evil spirits they wor-

shipped, to all which they listened with proper attention. Before I proceed farther I must mention, that almost the whole province of Tlascala paid homage and made presents to Donna Louisa: Alvarado had by her a son named Don Pedro, and a daughter named Donna Leonora, wife at present to D. Fra. de la Cueva, a good cavalier, cousin to the Duke of Albuquerque, by whom she has four or five sons all worthy cavaliers; Donna Leonora herself being an excellent lady, the true descendant of such a father, who was in right of Donna Louisa, great lord, or as it were sovereign, in Tlascala.

Cortes now obtained in a conversation with Xicotenga the elder and Maxicatzin, considerable information relative to Mexico. They told him, that Montezuma had an army of a hundred thousand warriors; that the enmity between the Mexicans and Tlascalans had subsisted above a hundred years, the latter having formed an alliance for mutual protection with the people of Guaxocingo, and that all the districts which Montezuma had brought under his subjection were dissatisfied with his tyranny, and inclined to favor his enemies. They said that the people from whom the Tlascalans had suffered most, were those of Cholula, from which city, the troops of Montezuma could come by surprise upon the Tlascalan territory; that the Mexican garrisons occupied all the cities of the neighbouring states, who were obliged to pay tribute to their monarch, in gold, manufactures, and victims for sacrifice; and in short, that his wealth and power were immense. They informed him also of the great strength of the city of Mexico, of the lake, and the causeways with their wooden drawbridges. They farther described that city as built principally in the water, so that there was no passing from one house to another except by drawbridges or in canoes, and that all the houses were terraced at top, and defended by parapets. The arms of the Mexicans they described as consisting of double-headed darts thrown by a kind of sling, lances with double-edged blades

of an ell in length, made of stone, and sharper than a razor, two-handed swords of the same material and construction, and shields. The Tlascalan chiefs then produced for our inspection large cloths of nequen, whereon were painted representations of their various battles. The discourse afterwards turned upon themselves and their nation. They said that their ancestors had told them, that in former times the country was inhabited by men and women of great stature, and wicked manners, whom their ancestors had at length extirpated; and in order that we might judge of the bulk of these people, they brought us a bone which had belonged to one of them, so large, that when placed upright it was as high as a middling sized man; it was the bone between the knee and the hip; I stood by it, and it was of my height, though I am as tall as the generality of men. They brought also pieces of other bones of great size, but much consumed by time; but the one I have mentioned was entire; we were astonished at these remains, and thought that they certainly demonstrated the former existence of giants. This bone we sent to Castille for his Majesty's inspection, by the first persons who went on our affairs from hence. The chiefs also told us how their idols had predicted, that men should come from distant parts where the sun rises, to subjugate the country, and that they believed us to be those of whom their gods had spoken. Cortes replied that it certainly was the case, that we were sent by our monarch to cultivate friendship with them, and that he hoped we should be the instruments of their salvation, to which we one and all said, Amen.

By this time the cavaliers my readers, are I fear tired of the conversation with the Tlascalans; I must however mention some other things which occurred here. There was a volcano near Guaxocingo, which at this time threw up great quantities of flames. Captain Diego de Ordas went to examine it, attended by two soldiers and some principal Indians. The natives were afraid to approach nearer to it than the temples of Popocatepeque, but De Ordas with his

two companions proceeding, reached the summit, and looked down into the crater, which forms a circle of about a quarter of a league in diameter; from hence they also had the first view of the city of Mexico, at the distance of twelve or thirteen leagues. This was thought at the time a great achievement. When De Ordas went to Castille, he obtained permission from his Majesty, to bear the volcano of Guaxocingo in his coat of arms, and it is so borne by his nephew who lives in La Puebla. This mountain for several years, until 1530, did not throw out flames; but at that period it raged again violently.

In this town of Tlascala we found wooden cages, where they confined and fattened their victims. These we destroyed, releasing the unfortunate prisoners, who remained with us, not daring to venture to their homes. Cortes spoke in very angry terms to the chiefs of Tlascala upon their perseverance in this horrid custom; they promised amendment, but what availed that, when, on our backs being turned, they immediately reverted to their old abominations!

Chapter vii.

The Spanish Army proceeds on its march to Mexico.

After a repose of seventeen days in Tlascala, it was determined to prosecute our march to Mexico. Upon this subject much difference of opinion existed, the rich settlers of Cuba being very adverse to it. The resolution which we had taken grieved our friends of Tlascala, who earnestly advised us by no means to trust Montezuma or his people, nor their smooth and courteous words and manners; for that they were treacherous in the extreme, and would either retain us to breed men for Montezuma's service, or in a favorable hour, would fall upon, and destroy us. But, in case of our having hostilities with them, they advised us to kill all, neither sparing the rising youth, nor the aged counsellor. Cortes thanked, and proposed to them, an amicable treaty with their neighbours the Mexicans; but they would not hear of this, saying, they could not trust those, who would only under the veil of peace, better execute their treacherous designs. In regard to our road, the Mexican ambassadors earnestly recommended that by Cholula; but our friends of Tlascala as strongly advised us by no means to go that way, but by Guaxocingo. Nevertheless we determined to go by Cholula, intending to remain there, until we could by negociation obtain a peaceable entry into Mexico. Cortes therefore sent messengers to that place, to inform the chiefs of his intention, and expressing his dissatisfaction that they had not come to wait upon him.

At this time arrived four of the principal nobility of Mexico, with a rich present. It consisted of gold to the value of ten thousand crowns, and ten bales of the finest mantles of feathers. Having saluted Cortes with the profoundest respect, the ambassadors delivered the message of

their monarch, which was to this effect. That he wondered at our stay amongst a people so poor and base as the Tlascalans, who were robbers, and unfit even for slaves; and he earnestly requested that we would immediately visit his capital. Cortes replied assuring them that he would shortly pay his respects to the great Montezuma, requesting their stay with him during the interval. He also determined to send two cavaliers as ambassadors, to wait on Montezuma, and view the city of Mexico. The persons he pitched on were Pedro de Alvarado, and B. Vasquez de Tapia. They set out on their journey, accompanying the former Mexican ambassadors who had hitherto continued with us. I was at this time ill of my wounds, and of a fever; and therefore incapable of observing exactly all that passed, but I know, that their going thither appeared to us a very unwise measure, and in consequence of our remonstrances, they were recalled.

The chiefs of Cholula now sent us four men of low condition, with a very dry and uncourteous answer to our message, and without any present whatever. This evidently appeared to be done in contempt, and Cortes sent notice to them, that if their chiefs did not wait upon him in three days, they should be considered as rebels; but that in case of their compliance, he would be happy to esteem them as brothers, and had much to tell them of great importance. They then sent word that they dared not to come amongst their enemies the Tlascalans, who they knew had misrepresented them and the great Montezuma to us; but they requested that we would visit their city, where they would give us an honorable reception. When the Tlascalans saw our determination to accept this proposal they told us, that since we were resolved to neglect their advice, they expected that we would take with us ten thousand of their best warriors. This was thought too great a number for a peaceable visit; we however agreed to take two thousand, who were immediately ready to attend us.

Being well prepared against whatever might happen, we

now set out on our march, and arrived in the evening at a river, distant a short league from Cholula, where a stone bridge is now built across it. Here some of the chiefs of the city came to congratulate us on our arrival. Continuing our march on the next day, when we came near the city, we were met by the chiefs and priests in a body, all dressed in cassocks of cotton, resembling those of the Zapotecans. The chiefs presented their incense to Cortes, and after apologizing for not having gone to Tlascala, requested that he would not permit so large a body of their enemies to enter the city. This appearing reasonable, Cortes sent Alvarado and De Oli, to desire our allies to hut themselves in the field, and we then marched on, attended only by the Indians of Cempoal, and those who drew the artillery. Before he entered the city he made known to these people the objects of his mission, as has been already frequently related. They replied without hesitation, that to our monarch they were perfectly ready to yield immediate obedience, which they did; but that as to abandoning their ancient religion, they could not comply with any such demand. When we entered their city, we were conducted through an immense crowd which filled the streets and terraces, to our quarters in some large apartments, which contained us, our allies of Cempoal, and those who conveyed the artillery and baggage.

During the time we stayed here, a plot was concerted by the ambassadors of Montezuma, for the entry of twenty thousand of his troops into this city, to fall upon us; and several houses were filled with the poles and leathern collars, in which they were to have brought us prisoners to Mexico, but that God was pleased to foil their designs.

For the first two days, we were entertained as well as we could wish, but on the third we received no provisions, nor did either chief or priest make his appearance. The few inhabitants that we saw, also, withdrew from us with a mysterious kind of sneer in their faces, and Cortes at this time applying to the ambassadors to procure for us our

provisions as usual, all that we obtained was a little wood and water, conveyed by some old men, who told us that no maize was to be had. On this day ambassadors arrived from Montezuma, who, in very disrespectful terms, forbid our approach to Mexico, and required an immediate answer. Cortes mildly expressed his surprise at this alteration; he made them a present, and requested a short delay, which they acceded to. He then summoning his soldiers, warned us to be alert, for that he suspected some great treachery. The chiefs having refused to attend him, he immediately sent some soldiers to a great temple hard by our quarters, with orders to bring, as quietly as they could, two of the priests. In this they succeeded without any difficulty, and the priests being brought before the general, he made a present to each, and then enquired the reason of these extraordinary appearances. One of them was a person of rank, and authority over all the temples of the city, in the manner of a bishop; this person assured him, that if he had an opportunity of speaking to the chiefs, he could persuade them to come; and being dismissed for this purpose, he was as good as his word, for he soon returned accompanied by several of them. Cortes first asked the cause of the change in their behaviour; he then demanded an immediate supply of provisions, and also a number of their people for the ensuing day, to convey the baggage and artillery. The chiefs appeared confounded, but at length promised to send in provisions; though they said they had been forbidden by Montezuma, and that he was not satisfied that we should go any farther. Just at this time three of our friends of Cempoal called out the general, and informed him, that they had discovered hard by our quarters, pitfalls covered with wood and earth, and that clearing away the earth, and looking into one of them, they had found it set with sharp stakes; that the terraces of all the houses were filled with stones and parapeted with sods, and that they had seen a barricade of strong timber in one of the streets. At this instant arrived also eight Tlascalans,

from their army which was lying in the field; they warned Cortes against the intended attack, for it had come to their knowledge, that the people of the place had, on the preceding night, sacrificed to their war god seven victims, five of whom were children, and they had also observed, that they were withdrawing their women, children, and effects, from the place.

Hereupon Cortes sent orders to the Tlascalans to hold themselves in readiness, and rejoining the chiefs and priests of the town, he desired them to be under no apprehension, but warned them not to deviate from their obedience, on pain of instant punishment. He then demanded of them two thousand of their warriors to accompany him on his march, on the ensuing day; this they readily promised, thinking that it would tend to facilitate their projects; they therefore took their leave very well contented, and sent notice of our intentions to all those concerned with them. Cortes then sent Donna Marina to bring back the two priests whom he had before spoken to. In this she succeeded, and Cortes obtained from them the following intelligence.

They told him, that Montezuma, on our approach to Mexico, had become very unsettled in his mind, sometimes ordering that we should be received with honor, and at other times that she should not be permitted to pass; but that having lately consulted his gods, they had declared, that here in Cholula we were all to be put to death, or made prisoners, for which purpose he had sent twenty thousand of his troops, one half of which number was in the city, and the other concealed half a league from it. That the plan of their attack was settled, and that twenty of us were allotted to be sacrificed to the gods of Cholula. Cortes rewarded them handsomely, and enjoining strict secresy, desired them to bring to him all the chiefs, at the time he appointed. He then summoned a council of the ablest and wisest soldiers of his army, some of whom were for returning immediately, and others proposed various measures, but at length all

agreed in the necessity of severely punishing this treachery, as an example to other places. It was therefore determined, that we should carry on the appearance of our intended march, preparing our baggage, and concealing our other measures, and that within the high walls of the courts where we were quartered, punishment should be inflicted on the Cholulans. With the ambassadors of Montezuma it was thought most prudent to dissemble; we therefore told them of our having discovered the treason of the people, who had aspersed Montezuma, as being the author of it; and we proposed to them, to have no more intercourse with the inhabitants, but to retire to the apartment of Cortes. They solemnly declared their ignorance of the transaction, and contrary to their inclination we now put them under a good guard, for the night, during which our whole force remained under arms.

On this night, the wife of a cacique, an old woman, who was acquainted with the plot, came secretly to Donna Marina whose appearance had attracted her regard, and invited her to her own house, as a place of security from the danger which was ready to overwhelm us, making at the same time a proposal to her, to accept as a husband, her son, the brother of a boy who accompanied her. Donna Marina, with a profusion of thanks, and with her usual acuteness and presence of mind, agreed to all that she proposed, but said that she wanted some one with whom to entrust her effects. She then obtained information of every particular of the business, all which the old woman informed her she had learned from her husband, who was chief of one of the divisions of the city, and was then with his warriors, giving directions for their junction with the Mexican forces. She added, that she had known it three days before, in consequence of presents which had been sent from Mexico to the different chiefs, her husband having received at that time a golden drum.[1] Donna Marina, desiring this woman and her son to remain where

[1] A golden drum was borne by a general in chief.

they were and take care of her effects, hastened to Cortes, and informed him of all that had passed, and that the person from whom she had the information was in her apartment; in consequence of which, Cortes immediately sent for her, and the woman on being brought into his presence confirmed all that she had said to Donna Marina, and which exactly agreed with the other information he had received.

When day broke, the hurry of the chiefs, priests, and people, and the satisfaction which appeared in their countenances, were as great as if they already had us in their cages. They brought many more of their warriors to attend us than we had required, insomuch that the courts, which remain at this day as a memorial of the event, large as they were, could not contain them. We were all prepared for what was to be done, the soldiers armed with sword and buckler were placed at the gate of the great court, in order to prevent any one from escaping, and our general was on horseback, attended by a strong guard. When he saw how the people crowded in he exclaimed, "How anxious are these traitors to feast upon our flesh! But God will disappoint them." He sent directions to the two priests who had given the information, to go immediately to their houses, and this he did in order to save their lives; then, causing the rest of the priests, and all the chiefs to be brought to him, he calmly asked them what was their reason for plotting to destroy us, and what we had done, more than require them to abandon their abominable customs, and endeavour to instruct them in the articles of our holy faith; and that for these reasons only, they had made preparations to cut us all off. That their evil intentions appeared by their having withdrawn the women from the town, and that when we required the provisions which they withheld from us, they had insulted us by sending in wood and water. He said that he knew of the ambuscade that was placed upon the road which they expected us to go, and that the recompense which they intended for our holy and friendly services was, to kill and eat us, for

which purpose the pots were already boiling, and prepared with salt, pepper, and tomatas. That if they were determined to attack us, it was better to do it in a manly way, as the Tlascalans did; he added, that he also knew that twenty of us were to be sacrificed to their idols, to whom they had made a propitiatory offering of seven of their brethren; but the victory the idols had promised them, it was not in their power to give, and the effects of their treason were now ready to fall on their own heads.

This being successively explained to the natives by Donna Marina, they confessed the whole of the charge, but said that it was planned entirely by the orders of Montezuma. Cortes replied, that such crimes were never suffered to pass without punishment, and he then commanded a musket to be fired, as the signal for slaughter, which was waited for by us, who were as I have related well prepared, and falling upon the multitude then inclosed within the courts, we executed their punishment on them in a manner that they will ever remember; for a number of them were killed by us instantly, and many afterwards burned alive, very contrary to the expectations they had formed from the promises of their gods.[2] Within two hours our allies the Tlascalans arrived, and made a desperate slaughter of them in the streets, and as soon as the Cholulans had ceased to make resistance, the former ravaged the city, plundering and making them slaves without our having it in our power to prevent them; and on the day after, when the intelligence had reached Tlascala, fresh hordes crowded hither for the same purpose. It was now absolutely necessary to restrain them at all risks: Cortes therefore ordered the chiefs to withdraw their troops, which they immediately did, and soon after, some priests and chieftains who presided over other parts of the town, which they alledged not to have been engaged in the conspiracy, waited on us, and requested a remission of punishment. The two priests formerly mentioned, and the old

[2] Above six thousand Cholulans were put to death on this occasion.

woman who was so anxious to be the mother-in-law of Donna Marina, came also, and petitioned to the same effect. Cortes appeared greatly enraged, and calling for the Mexican ambassadors, declared in their presence, that if he did not destroy the whole city as it deserved, it was out of respect to the great Montezuma, whose vassals the inhabitants were; but that for his sake he pardoned them. He then commanded the Tlascalans to deliver up those whom they had made prisoners: this, however unwillingly, they in a great measure complied with, many persons being set at liberty, but after all they retained a good booty of gold, mantles, cotton, salt, and slaves. An amnesty for the past being proclaimed, and Cortes having reconciled the Tlascalans and Cholulans, the latter suggested that they were apprehensive our general would appoint their new chief, the former one having been put to death. Cortes upon this enquired who was the regular successor, and being informed that it was the brother of the late head cacique, he appointed him to the chieftainry. As soon as the inhabitants had returned, and order was restored, he summoned together all the priests and chiefs, in order to exhort them upon the subject of religion, advising them to renounce their odious practices, and as an instance of the inefficacy of their idols, he reminded them of the manner in which they had been lately deceived by their false promises. He therefore proposed that they should be pulled down and broken to pieces, and an altar and cross erected in their place. The latter was immediately done, but as to the prostration of the idols, by the advice of the reverend father it was postponed for a time, from motives of prudence, and a just consideration of the uncertainty of our situation.

The city of Cholula much resembled Valladolid, being in a fertile plain, very thickly inhabited; it is surrounded by fields of maize, pepper, and maguey. They had an excellent manufacture of earthenware, of three colours, red, black, and white, painted in different patterns, with which

Mexico and all the neighbouring countries were supplied, as Castille is by those of Talavera and Plasencia. The city had at that time above a hundred lofty white towers, which were the temples of their idols, one of which was held in peculiar veneration. The principal temple was higher than that of Mexico, and each of these buildings was placed in a spacious court.

The Mexican troops which had been posted in ambuscade, with ramparts and trenches to oppose to the cavalry, hearing what had happened to their associates, made a rapid retreat to their city, and carried the news to their monarch; but he had already heard his misfortune from two of his ambassadors who had been with us. It is said that he immediately ordered a sacrifice to his gods, and shut himself up at his devotions for two entire days, with ten of his chief priests, in order to obtain an answer from them, relative to his future destiny. The reply which they gave was to this effect; that he should send an embassy to exculpate himself in regard to what had passed, and to invite us into Mexico, where, by cutting off the water, or raising the bridges, he could easily destroy us, or retain us for breed. The news of our late successes spread rapidly, and the natives were more than ever convinced that we were beings possessed of a preternatural power and intelligence. My readers will be perhaps by this time as tired of the detail of the transaction of Cholula, as I am of writing it. I must however mention the cages full of men and boys fattening for sacrifice, which were in this city. All these Cortes destroyed, and sent the poor prisoners to their homes, giving positive orders to the priests to desist from the practice in future, which they promised that they would, but what signified their promises!

This which I have related is the reality of the endless story of the Lord Bishop of Chiapa, F. Bart. de las Casas, who says we put these people to death merely for pastime; but I must observe, that certain reverend Franciscans, after

the conquest of Mexico, being some of the first his Majesty sent to New Spain, went to Cholula on purpose to make the strictest enquiry; the result of which was, that they found the affair to have happened exactly as I have related it. If this punishment had not taken place our lives would have been in the greatest danger, and had we been destroyed this country of New Spain would not have been so easily gained, or a second expedition attempted; or if it had, it might have failed of success, as the natives would have defended their coasts, and have thus remained for ever in their idolatry. I have heard a reverend Franciscan named Fray Torribio de Motilinea say, that if the punishment could have been avoided, and that there had been no cause given for it, it would have been better; but that since it was done, good effects had resulted, as the natives were thereby convinced of the falsehood and deception of their idols, which they in consequence despised, as a proof of which they afterwards took down the principal one, putting another in its place.

Having now passed fourteen days in the city of Cholula, Cortes summoned a council composed of certain officers and soldiers, men of equal valour and wisdom, and his particular friends, for without our advice he entered upon no measure of consequence, and it was thereby determined, to send a respectful message to the great Montezuma, and to inform him that in compliance with the orders of our king we were on our way to pay our respects to him in person. We then related the transaction of Cholula, where the treason which was meditated against us had come in sufficient time to our knowledge, from which nothing that concerned us could be concealed, adding, that if we had not punished it to the full extent, it was only out of respect to him, whose vassals the people of that city were; that the chiefs and priests had informed us, that what they did was at his instigation, which we could not believe of so great a prince, after the proffers of friendship which he had made to us, for that had he been inclined to hostility, he would have met us in the field, but

that in the case of a battle, field or town, day or night, was alike to us.

The Mexican monarch was very doubtful and pensive, when he considered the events which had passed. After a variety of determinations he at length sent to us six of his first nobility, with a present of gold to the value of two thousand crowns, and several bales of fine mantles. When the ambassadors came into the presence of Cortes, saluting him with profound respect, they delivered a message from their monarch, wherein he laboured to exculpate himself in regard to what had happened in Cholula, and concluded by inviting us to his court. Cortes entertained these persons with his usual politeness, and retaining three of them to go with us as guides, sent the others back to inform their monarch that he was setting out upon his march. When the Tlascalan chiefs heard our determination, they renewed to Cortes their warnings to beware of Mexican treachery, but added, that if he was determined to proceed, they would send with him ten thousand of their warriors. Cortes thanking them observed, that such a body would not accord well with an amicable visit, but requested one thousand men for the baggage and artillery, which number was instantly provided. Our faithful allies of Cempoal being apprehensive of the vengeance of the Mexicans, now petitioned for leave to return to their homes. Cortes dismissed them with handsome presents, and having written to Juan de Escalante, informing him of his determination, we set forward on our march.

We quitted Cholula in great regularity, sending out our cavalry patroles to reconnoitre, supported by light infantry, our arms in order, and the cavalry by threes in front. Marching on thus, "With the beard always upon the shoulder," we arrived at a little place called the hamlet of Iscalpan, in a mountainous ridge in the district of Guaxocingo, four leagues distant from Cholula, where we were met by the chiefs, accompanied by others who inhabit the skirts of

the volcano. They brought presents of provisions and gold, of trifling value, telling Cortes he should receive it, not considering how much it was worth, but the inclination of those who gave it. They advised us against going to Mexico, as being a very strong city and the inhabitants warlike, and they also told us, that on ascending the next mountain, we should find two roads, very broad, one whereof went to a place called Chalco, the other to Talmanalco, both, places subject to the Mexicans. That the one road was very open and convenient, the other difficult, being obstructed by large pine trees felled across it, and that the first mentioned road, had an ambuscade of Mexicans laid hard by it, among some rocks, in order to fall upon us as we passed; they therefore recommended us to go by that where the trees had been felled, offering to send a number of their people to clear it. Cortes expressed his gratitude for their advice, saying that by God's permission he would pursue his route, accordingly.

Early on the morning of the next day we set forward on our march, and reached the summit of the ridge about twelve o'clock, where we found the roads as they had been described to us, some of the felled trees being to be seen at this day. Here we halted a little in order to consider how we should proceed, and Cortes calling upon the ambassadors of the great Montezuma, enquired of them the meaning of these appearances. They replied, that we should take that road which led to Chalco, where we should be well received, and that the other road was longer and more difficult. Hereupon Cortes said, that he would notwithstanding prefer it, and our Indian allies clearing the way before us, we proceeded up the mountain, where the weather was exceedingly cold, and presently came a very heavy fall of snow, so that the whole country was covered with it. After some time we arrived at certain houses which are for the purpose of lodging travellers, where we halted, and found provisions in plenty. Having placed our guards, we rested for that night, and continued our march in the morning, and at the hour

of high mass arrived at the town of Talmanalco, where we had an hospitable reception. The people of the neighbouring districts, that is to say of Chalco, Mecameca, and Acingo where the canoes are kept, waited on Cortes here with a present of gold worth about a hundred and fifty crowns, some mantles, and eight women. Cortes received them kindly, promising them his friendship, and a number of the natives being now collected, he desired the reverend father of the order of mercy to explain to them the doctrines of our holy faith, and require them to renounce their idolatrous worship; he also informed them of the great power of our monarch, and that we came in his name to redress wrongs. When the people heard this, they began to make secret complaints of the tyranny of Montezuma, who deprived them of their wives and daughters if handsome, and took the men to work like slaves, compelling them to convey for him, stones, timber, and corn, and seizing their lands for the service of his idols. Cortes condoled with them in kind words, desiring them to have patience for the present, and that they should soon be redressed. He then desired that some might go, and report to him the state of the road, but they told him there was no occasion, as it was perfectly clear.

Just as we were setting out attended by twenty Indians from this place, four of the principal nobility of Mexico arrived, and having paid their compliments, and delivered their presents, thus addressed Cortes. "Malintzin, this present our monarch sends you, saying, how grieved he is that you should take so much trouble in coming from a distant country to see him, and that he has already told you he will give you gold, silver, and chalchihuis for your Teules, on condition that you will not approach Mexico. He now repeats his request, and promises that he will send after you, a great treasure of gold, silver, and jewels, for your king, four loads of gold for yourself, and a load for each of your brethren, on condition you return immediately; for as to advancing to Mexico, that, you cannot do, as the whole force

of the Mexican warriors is in arms against you: and moreover, there is no good road thither, nor are provisions to be had." Cortes embraced the ambassadors with much urbanity, and returned his thanks for the present, saying, that he was surprised to find the great Montezuma so variable in his mind. In regard to his offers of treasure for the emperor, he thanked him, and for what had been received, said he hoped to pay in future services; but submitted to him, how he could possibly turn back, when so near his royal residence, without taking that opportunity of paying his respects, and obeying his masters orders; and begged him also to consider, what opinion he would entertain of persons he had sent on similar business, should they act in the manner he required us to do. To his capital, our monarch expected we should go, and therefore it was useless to send any more such messages, for he must wait upon his Majesty, and deliver his message to him in person: and afterwards, if our remaining there was not agreeable, he would obey his orders, and return to the place from whence he came.

Having thus dispatched Montezuma's ambassadors we continued our march. Our allies had informed us that Montezuma was to permit us to enter the city, and there put us all to death; this we well knew, and being like other mortals fond of our lives, it filled us with melancholy thoughts. Recommending our souls therefore to our Lord Jesus Christ, who had brought us through our past dangers, we proceeded, and halted at a place called Iztapalatengo, one half of the houses of which is in the water, and the other half on firm ground, hard by a little ridge of hills, where there is now an inn.

Early in the morning, when we were on the point of marching, a centinel came to inform us, that a great number of Mexicans, richly dressed, were upon the road. Cortes therefore ordered us to return into our quarters, and at that instant four of the principal courtiers of Mexico arrived, and waiting on Cortes with great respect informed him, that

Cacamatzin lord of Tezcuco, the nephew of the great Montezuma, was approaching, and requested that he would wait to receive him. Cacamatzin followed in the greatest pomp, carried in a magnificent litter adorned with green plumes, and enriched with jewels, set in the branched pillars of solid gold. He was borne by eight lords, who assisted him out of the litter, and swept the way by which he was to pass. When he came into the presence of Cortes he said to him, "Malintzin, here am I and those lords to attend you to your residence in our city, by order of the great Montezuma." Cortes embraced the prince, and presented him with three jewels of that kind called margajitas, which are figured in different colours. We then set forward on the road to Mexico, which was crowded with multitudes of the natives, and arrived at the causeway of Iztapalapa, which leads to that capital. When we beheld the number of populous towns on the water and firm ground, and that broad causeway, running straight and level to the city, we could compare it to nothing but the enchanted scenes we had read of in Amadis of Gaul, from the great towers and temples, and other edifices of lime and stone which seemed to rise out of the water. To many of us it appeared doubtful whether we were asleep or awake; nor is the manner in which I express myself to be wondered at, for it must be considered, that never yet did man see, hear, or dream of any thing equal to the spectacle which appeared to our eyes on this day.

When we approached Iztapalapa, we were received by several great lords of that country, relations of Montezuma, who conducted us to our lodgings there, in palaces magnificently built of stone, and the timber of which was cedar, with spacious courts, and apartments furnished with canopies of the finest cotton. After having contemplated these noble edifices we walked through the gardens, which were admirable to behold from the variety of beautiful and aromatic plants, and the numerous alleys filled with fruit trees, roses, and various flowers. Here was also a lake of the clear-

est water, which communicated with the grand lake of Mexico by a channel cut for the purpose, and capable of admitting the largest canoes. The whole was ornamented with works of art, painted, and admirably plaistered and whitened, and it was rendered more delightful by numbers of beautiful birds. When I beheld the scenes that were around me, I thought within myself that this was the garden of the world! This place, was at the time of which I am speaking, with one half of the houses in the water, and the other half on dry land; but all is destroyed, and that which was a lake is now a tract of fields of Indian corn, and so entirely altered that the natives themselves could hardly know it.

Chapter viii.

Mexico, Nov. 8th, 1519. Description of that Court and City. Transactions and Occurrences there.

On the next day we set out, accompanied as on the former one, and proceeded by the grand causeway, which is eight yards wide, and runs in a straight line to the city of Mexico. It was crowded with people, as were all the towers, temples, and causeways, in every part of the lake, attracted by curiosity to behold men, and animals, such as never had been before seen in these countries. We were occupied by very different thoughts; our number did not amount to four hundred and fifty, we had perfectly in our recollection the accounts we had received on our march, that we were to be put to death on our arrival in the city which we now saw before us, approachable only by causeways, whereon were several bridges, the breaking of one of which effectually cut off our retreat. And now let who can, tell me, where are men in this world to be found except ourselves, who would have hazarded such an attempt?

When we arrived at a place where a small causeway turns off, which goes to the city of Cuyoacan, we were met by a great number of the lords of the court in their richest dresses, sent as they said before the great Montezuma, to bid us welcome. After waiting there some time, the nephew of Montezuma and other noblemen went back to meet their monarch, who approached, carried in a most magnificent litter, which was supported by his principal nobility. When we came near certain towers which are almost close to the city, Montezuma who was then there quitted his litter, and was borne in the arms of the princes of Tezcuco, Iztapalapa, Tacuba, and Cuyoacan, under a canopy of the richest materials, ornamented with green feathers, gold, and precious stones that

A PLAN of the CITY, and Lake, of MEXICO with an elevation of an ANCIENT TEMPLE
Height feet
To the Platform 114
Top of the Tower 170
N.B: The Smoke marks the Platform of Sacrifice where the Battle was fought
Acutman
Topeaca
2d Position of Sandoval
Tenayaca
Popalotla
Chiauhila
Ezcapuzalco
Tacuba
Post of Alvarado
MEXICO
Ateneo
Tezcuco
Xoloc
Huexutlan
Villages
Cuyoacan
Post of de Oli & of the Fleet under CORTES
Guatlichan
Chimalhuacan
Iztapalapa
1st Position of Sandoval
Iztapalocan
Ayotlan
Colhuacan
Cuitlahuac
Chalco
Topepan
Mezquique
Ayolzingo
10 Miles

hung in the manner of fringe; he was most richly dressed and adorned, and wore buskins of pure gold ornamented with jewels. The princes who supported him were dressed in rich habits, different from those in which they came to meet us, and others who preceded the monarch spread mantles on the ground, lest his feet should touch it. All who attended him, except the four princes, kept their eyes fixed upon the earth, not daring to look him in the face.

When Cortes was told that the great Montezuma approached, he dismounted from his horse, and advanced towards him with much respect; Montezuma bid him welcome, and Cortes replied with a compliment, and it appeared to me, that he offered to yield the right hand to Montezuma, who declined it, and put Cortes on his right. Our general then produced a collar of those artificial jewels called margajitas, which are of various colours, set in gold, and threw it upon the neck of Montezuma; after which, he advanced to embrace him, but the lords who surrounded the monarch, taking him by the arm, prevented him, it appearing to them not sufficiently respectful. Cortes then said, that he rejoiced in having seen so great a monarch, and that he was highly honored by his coming out to meet him, as well as by the many other marks of his favor. To this Montezuma made a gracious reply, and gave orders to the princes of Tezcuco and Cuyoacan to attend us to our quarters. Attended by his nobility, he then returned to the city, all the people standing close to the walls, without daring to lift up their eyes, and thus we passed, without obstruction from the crowd. Who could count the multitude of men, women, and children, which thronged the streets, the canals, and terraces on the tops of the houses, on that day! The whole of what I saw on this occasion is so strongly imprinted in my memory, that it appears to me as if it had happened only yesterday: glory to our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave us courage to venture upon such dangers, and brought us safely through them! And praised be he, that he has suffered me

to live, to write this my true history, although not so fully and satisfactorily as the subject deserves.

Our lodgings were provided in the buildings which had been inhabited by the father of Montezuma; here the monarch had the temples of his gods, and a secret treasure of gold and valuables, which he had derived from his father Axayaca. We were lodged here, because being considered as Teules, they thought we were in our proper place amongst their idols. Be it how it may however, here they brought us to lodge in large apartments, a raised platform being assigned for our general, and mats for each of us, with little canopies over them, such as are used in that country. The whole of this palace was very light, airy, clean, and pleasant, the entry being through a great court. Montezuma here led Cortes by the hand to the apartment destined for him, and taking a large collar of gold, placed it round the general's neck. Cortes declared his gratitude for these favors, and Montezuma said, "Malintzin, here you and your friends are at home; now repose yourselves." With these words he departed. We were allotted to our quarters by companies, our artillery was posted in a convenient place, and all was arranged in such a manner as to be prepared for any contingency; a very sumptuous entertainment was provided for us, which we sat down to with great satisfaction, and here ends the true and full account of our adventurous and magnanimous entry into Mexico, on the eighth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1519. Glory be to Jesus Christ for all!

When the great Montezuma had made his repast, and understood that we had done the same, attended by a great body of his nobility he came to our apartments. Cortes went out to the middle of the hall to receive him, where Montezuma took him by the hand, and seats richly ornamented being brought, they both sat down, by the desire of the king, who then began a very pertinent speech, wherein he observed, that he rejoiced to have in his dominions captains

so brave as Cortes and his associates; that he had before heard of one who had arrived at Champoton, and also of another who had come with four ships in the preceding year; that he had been anxious to see them, but had been disappointed: now however that we were arrived, he was happy to offer us all the favor he had in his power to bestow, for we were undoubtedly those who had been mentioned by his ancestors, who had predicted, that there would come certain men, from that part where the sun rises, to govern these countries; and it could mean no other but us, who had fought so valiantly since our arrival in their country; a representation of each of our battles having been sent to him. Cortes replied, that he and all of us never could repay the great favors we every day received from his hands: that we certainly were those of whom it had been prophecied, and that we were vassals of a potent monarch named Don Carlos, who had many and great princes subject to him, and had sent us, hearing of the fame and grandeur of king Montezuma, to request in his name, that the great Montezuma and his subjects would embrace the holy christian faith, which is the faith professed by our monarch, by doing which he would preserve the souls of him, his family, and subjects; and that he should in good time be informed of more particulars, such as that we worshipped the only true God, with many other things highly edifying to the hearers. This conversation being concluded, Montezuma presented our general with a quantity of valuable ornaments of wrought gold; to each of the captains he made a present of some gold and three loads of mantles, and to each soldier of two loads of richly wrought mantles; and all this he did in the most free and gracious manner, or to speak most properly, like a great monarch as he was. Montezuma then asked Cortes if his soldiers were all brothers, and vassals of our emperor. To which Cortes replied, that we were all brothers in love and friendship, persons of consequence in our own country, and servants of our sovereign lord the king. With mutual com-

pliments Montezuma then departed, having given orders to his officers to provide us amply according to our demands, with corn, stone mills, and women to make bread, together with fowls, and fruit, and plenty of grass for the horses.

The next day was fixed on by Cortes, for his visit to Montezuma. Accordingly, attended by Captains Pedro de Alvarado, Juan Velasquez de Leon, Diego de Ordas, Gonzalo de Sandoval, and five soldiers, he went to his palace, which as soon as Montezuma was informed of, he came as far as the middle of the hall to meet us, attended by his relations, no other persons being allowed to enter where he was, except on most important business. With great ceremony on each side, the king took Cortes by the hand, and leading him to the elevated part of the saloon, placed him upon his right, and with much affability, desired the rest of us to be seated. Cortes then proceeded to say, that he came to him for the service of the Lord God whom the christians adored, who was named Jesus Christ, and who suffered death for our sakes. He also explained to him, that we adored the cross as the emblem of the crucifixion for our salvation, whereby the human race was redeemed, and that our Lord on the third day rose, and is in heaven, and that it is he who created heaven, and earth, and sea, and is adored by us as our Creator; but that those things which he held to be gods, were not such, but devils, which are very bad things, of evil countenances, and worse deeds; and that he might judge how wicked they were, and how little power they had, in as much as where ever we placed crosses, they dare not shew their faces. He therefore requested, that he would attend to what he had told him, which was, that we were all brothers, the children of Adam and Eve, and that as such, our emperor lamenting the loss of souls in such numbers as those which were brought by his idols into everlasting flames, had sent us to apply a remedy thereto, by putting an end to the worship of these false gods, to human sacrifices, and all other crimes; and that he now came to notify his Majesty's

intentions, but our emperor would at a future period send holy men, fully capable of explaining them.

Here Cortes stopped, and Montezuma seemed to shew an inclination to reply, but Cortes observing that this was enough for the first time, proposed to us to retire, and we were preparing to do so, when we were prevented by Montezuma who spoke to him as follows. "Malintzin, I have already heard through my ambassadors of those things which you now mention, and to which hitherto we have made no reply, because we have from the first worshipped the gods we now do, and consider them as just and good. So no doubt are yours. In regard to the creation of the world, our beliefs are the same, and we also believe you to be the people who were to come to us from where the sun rises. To your great king I am indebted. There have been already persons on our coasts, from your country; I wish to know if you are all the same people." To which Cortes having replied that they were all subjects of the same prince, Montezuma said, that from the first time he heard of them, it had been his wish to see them, which his gods had now granted him; that we should therefore consider ourselves as at home, and if ever we were refused entrance into any of his cities, it was not his fault, but that of his subjects, who were terrified by the reports they heard of us, such as that we carried with us thunder and lightning, that our horses killed men, and that we were furious Teules, with other follies of that kind; adding, that he saw we were men, that we were valiant and wise, for which he esteemed us, and would give us proofs thereof. For this condescension we all expressed our gratitude. He then addressed himself to Cortes in a laughing manner, for he was very gay in conversation when he was in his state, saying, "Malintzin, the Tlascalans your new friends have I know told you that I am like a god, and that all about me is gold, and silver, and precious stones; but you now see that I am mere flesh and blood, and that my houses are built like other houses, of lime and stone, and timber. It is

true that I am a great king, and inherit riches from my ancestors; but for these ridiculous falsehoods, you treat them with the same contempt, that I do the stories I was told of your commanding the elements." To which Cortes good-humouredly replied, that the accounts of enemies were not to be relied on, paying him at the same time a handsome compliment, upon his power and grandeur. During this conversation Montezuma had made a sign to one of his principal attendants, to order his officers to bring him certain pieces of gold, which he had laid apart to give to Cortes, together with ten loads of fine stuffs, which he divided between Cortes and his captains, and to every soldier he gave two collars of gold, each worth ten crowns, and two loads of mantles. The gold amounted in value to upwards of a thousand crowns; and he gave it with an affability, and indifference, which made him appear a truly magnificent prince. It being now past midday, Cortes took his leave, observing that it was his Majesty's hour of dinner, and that he heaped obligations upon us; to which Montezuma replied, that on the contrary we had obliged him. We then retired, impressed with respect for the great Montezuma, from his princely manners and liberality.

The great Montezuma was at this time aged about forty years, of good stature, well proportioned, and thin: his complexion was much fairer than that of the Indians; he wore his hair short, just covering his ears, with very little beard, well arranged, thin, and black. His face was rather long, with a pleasant countenance, and good eyes; gravity and good humour were blended together when he spoke. He was very delicate and clean in his person, bathing himself every evening. He had a number of mistresses, of the first families, and two princesses his lawful wives: when he visited them, it was with such secrecy, that none could know it except his own servants. He was clear of all suspicion of unnatural vices. The clothes which he wore one day, he did not put on for four days after. He had two hundred

of his nobility as a guard, in apartments adjoining his own. Of these, certain persons only, could speak to him, and when they went to wait upon him they took off their rich mantles, and put on others of less ornament, but clean. They entered his apartment barefooted, their eyes fixed on the ground, and making three inclinations of the body as they approached him. In addressing the king they said, "Lord, my lord, great lord." When they had finished he dismissed them with a few words, and they retired, with their faces towards him, and their eyes fixed upon the ground. I also observed, that when great men came from a distance about business, they entered his palace barefooted, and in a plain habit; and also, that they did not enter the gate directly, but took a circuit in going towards it.

His cooks had upwards of thirty different ways of dressing meats, and they had earthen vessels so contrived as to keep them always hot. For the table of Montezuma himself, above three hundred dishes were dressed, and for his guards, above a thousand. Before dinner, Montezuma would sometimes go out and inspect the preparations, and his officers would point out to him which were the best, and explained of what birds and flesh they were composed; and of those he would eat. But this was more for amusement than any thing else. It is said that at times the flesh of young children was dressed for him; but the ordinary meats were, domestic fowls, pheasants, geese, partridges, quails, venison, Indian hogs, pigeons, hares, and rabbits, with many other animals and birds peculiar to the country. This is certain; that after Cortes had spoken to him relative to the dressing human flesh, it was not practised in his palace. At his meals, in the cold weather, a number of torches of the bark of a wood which makes no smoke and has an aromatic smell, were lighted, and that they should not throw too much heat, screens, ornamented with gold, and painted with figures of idols, were placed before them. Montezuma was seated on a low throne, or chair, at a table proportioned to

the height of his seat. The table was covered with white cloths and napkins, and four beautiful women presented him with water for his hands, in vessels which they call Xicales, with other vessels under them like plates, to catch the water; they also presented him with towels. Then, two other women brought small cakes of bread, and when the king began to eat, a large screen of wood, gilt, was placed before him, so that people should not during that time see him. The women having retired to a little distance, four ancient lords stood by the throne, to whom Montezuma from time to time spoke or addressed questions, and as a mark of particular favor, gave to each of them a plate of that which he was eating. I was told that these old lords, who were his near relations, were also counsellors and judges. The plates which Montezuma presented to them, they received with high respect, eating what was in them without taking their eyes off the ground. He was served on earthenware of Cholula, red and black. While the king was at table, no one of his guards, or in the vicinity of his apartment, dared for their lives make any noise. Fruit of all the kinds that the country produced was laid before him; he eat very little, but from time to time, a liquor prepared from cocoa, and of a stimulative, or corroborative quality, as we were told, was presented to him in golden cups. We could not at that time see if he drank it or not, but I observed a number of jars, above fifty, brought in, filled with foaming chocolate, of which he took some, which the women presented to him. At different intervals during the time of dinner, there entered certain Indians, hump-backed, very deformed, and ugly, who played tricks of buffoonery, and others who they said were jesters. There was also a company of singers and dancers, who afforded Montezuma much entertainment. To these he ordered the vases of chocolate to be distributed. The four female attendants then took away the cloths, and again with much respect presented him with water to wash his hands, during which time Montezuma conversed with

the four old noblemen formerly mentioned, after which they took their leave with many ceremonies. One thing I forgot, and no wonder, to mention in its place, and that is, that during the time Montezuma was at dinner, two very beautiful women were busily employed making small cakes with eggs and other things mixed therein. These were delicately white, and when made they presented them to him on plates covered with napkins. Also another kind of bread was brought to him in long loaves, and plates of cakes resembling wafers. After he had dined, they presented to him three little canes highly ornamented, containing liquid amber, mixed with an herb they call tobacco; and when he had sufficiently viewed and heard the singers, dancers, and buffoons, he took a little of the smoke of one of these canes, and then laid himself down to sleep; and thus his principal meal concluded. After this was over, all his guards and domestics sat down to dinner, and as near as I could judge, above a thousand plates of those eatables that I have mentioned were laid before them, with vessels of foaming chocolate, and fruit in an immense quantity. For his women and various inferior servants, his establishment was of a prodigious expence; and we were astonished, amidst such a profusion, at the vast regularity that prevailed. His major domo was at this time a prince named Tapiea; he kept the accounts of Montezuma's rents, in books which occupied an entire house. Montezuma had two buildings filled with every kind of arms, richly ornamented with gold and jewels, such as shields large and small, clubs like two-handed swords, and lances much larger than ours, with blades six feet in length, so strong that if they fix in a shield they do not break, and sharp enough to use as razors. There was also an immense quantity of bows and arrows, and darts, together with slings, and shields which roll up into a small compass, and in action are let fall and thereby cover the whole body. He had also much defensive armour of quilted cotton ornamented with feathers in different devices, and casques for

the head, made of wood and bone, with plumes of feathers, and many other articles too tedious to mention.

In this palace was a most magnificent aviary, which contained every description of birds that continent afforded, namely, royal eagles, and a smaller species, with many other birds, down to the smallest parroquets, of beautiful colours. It was here that the ornaments of green feathers were fabricated. The feathers were taken from birds which are of the size of our pyes in Spain, and which they call here Quetzales, and other birds, whose plumage is of five different colours, green, red, white, yellow, and blue. The name of this species of bird I do not know. Here was also an immensity of parrots, and certain geese of fine plumage, and a species which resembled geese. All these bred here, and were stripped of their feathers every year at the proper season. Here was a large pond of clear running water, where were a number of great birds, entirely red, with very long legs; there are some like them in the Island of Cuba, which they call Ipiris. There was also a species which lives entirely in the water.

We likewise saw another great building, which was a temple, and which contained those which were called the valiant or fighting gods, and here were many kinds of furious beasts, tygers, and lions of two species, one of which resembles a wolf, called here Adive. Also foxes, and other smaller animals, but all carnivorous. Most of these were bred in the place, being fed with game, fowls, dogs, and as I have heard the bodies of Indians who were sacrificed, the manner of which as I have been informed is this. They open the body of the victim while living, with large knives of stone; they take out his heart, and blood, which they offer to their gods, and then they cut off the limbs, and the head, upon which they feast, giving the body to be devoured by the wild beasts, and the skulls they hang up in their temples. In this accursed place were many vipers, and poisonous serpents

THE CHIEF TEMPLE OF THE AZTECS.

which have in their tails somewhat that sounds like castanets; these are the most dangerous of all, and were kept in vessels filled with feathers, where they reared their young, and were fed with the flesh of human beings, and dogs; and I have been assured, that after our expulsion from Mexico, all these animals lived for many days upon the bodies of our comrades who were killed on that occasion. These beasts and horrid reptiles were retained to keep company with their infernal gods, and when these animals yelled and hissed, the palace seemed like hell itself.

The place where the artists principally resided was named Escapuzalco, and was at the distance of about a league from the city. Here were the shops and manufactories of all their gold and silver smiths, whose works in these metals, and in jewellery, when they were brought to Spain, surprised our ablest artists. Their painters we may also judge of by what we now see, for there are three Indians in Mexico, who are named, Marcos de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz, and Crespillo, who, if they had lived with Apelles in ancient times, or were compared with Michael Angelo or Berruguete in modern times, would not be held inferior to them. Their fine manufactures of cotton and feathers, were principally brought from the province of Costitlan. The women of the family of the great Montezuma also, of all ranks, were extremely ingenious in these works, and constantly employed; as was a certain description of females who lived together in the manner of nuns.

One part of the city was entirely occupied by Montezuma's dancers, of different kinds, some of whom bore a stick on their feet, others flew in the air, and some danced like those in Italy called by us Matachines. He had also a number of carpenters and handicraft men constantly in his employ. His gardens, which were of great extent, were irrigated by canals of running water, and shaded with every variety of trees. In them were baths of cut stone, pavilions for feast-

ing or retirement, and theatres for shows, and for the dancers and singers; all which were kept in the most exact order, by a number of labourers constantly employed.

When we had been four days in Mexico, Cortes wished to take a view of the city, and in consequence sent to request the permission of his Majesty. Accordingly, Aguilar, Donna Marina, and a little page of our general's called Orteguilla, who already understood something of the language, went to the palace for that purpose. Montezuma was pleased immediately to accede, but being apprehensive that we might offer some insult to his temple, he determined to go thither in person, which he accordingly did, in the same form, and with the same retinue, as when he first came out to meet us, but that he was on this occasion preceded by two lords bearing sceptres in their hands, which they carried on high, as a signal of the king's approach. Montezuma, in his litter, with a small rod in his hand, one half of which was gold, and the other half wood, and which he bore elevated like a rod of justice, for such it was, approached the temple, and there quitted his litter and mounted the steps, attended by a number of priests, and offering incense, with many ceremonies, to his war gods. Cortes at the head of his cavalry, and the principal part of our soldiers under arms, marched to the grand square, attended by many noblemen of the court. When we arrived there, we were astonished at the crowds of people, and the regularity which prevailed, as well as at the vast quantities of merchandise, which those who attended us were assiduous in pointing out. Each kind had its particular place, which was distinguished by a sign. The articles consisted of gold, silver, jewels, feathers, mantles, chocolate, skins dressed and undressed, sandals, and other manufactures of the roots and fibres of nequen, and great numbers of male and female slaves, some of whom were fastened by the neck, in collars, to long poles. The meat market was stocked with fowls, game, and dogs. Vegetables, fruits, articles of food ready dressed, salt, bread, honey, and sweet pastry made

in various ways, were also sold here. Other places in the square were appointed to the sale of earthenware, wooden household furniture such as tables and benches, firewood, paper, sweet canes filled with tobacco mixed with liquid amber, copper axes and working tools, and wooden vessels highly painted. Numbers of women sold fish, and little loaves made of a certain mud which they find in the lake, and which resembles cheese. The makers of stone blades were busily employed shaping them out of the rough material, and the merchants who dealt in gold, had the metal in grains as it came from the mines, in transparent tubes, so that they could be reckoned, and the gold was valued at so many mantles, or so many xiquipils of cocoa, according to the size of the quills. The entire square was inclosed in piazzas, under which great quantities of grain were stored, and where were also shops for various kinds of goods. I must apologize for adding, that boat loads of human ordure were on the borders of the adjoining canals, for the purpose of tanning leather, which they said could not be done without it. Some may laugh at this, but I assert the fact is as I have stated it, and moreover, upon all the public roads, places for passengers to resort to, were built of canes, and thatched with straw or grass, in order to collect this material.

The courts of justice, where three judges sat, occupied a part of the square, their under officers being in the market, inspecting the merchandise.

From the square we proceeded to the great temple, but before we entered it we made a circuit through a number of large courts, the smallest of which appeared to me to contain more ground than the great square in Salamanca, with double inclosures built of lime and stone, and the courts paved with large white cut stone, very clean; or where not paved, they were plaistered and polished. When we approached the gate of the great temple, to the flat summit of which the ascent was by a hundred and fourteen steps, and before we had mounted one of them, Montezuma sent down

to us six priests, and two of his noblemen, to carry Cortes up, as they had done their sovereign, which he politely declined. When we had ascended to the summit of the temple, we observed on the platform as we passed, the large stones whereon were placed the victims who were to be sacrificed. Here was a great figure which resembled a dragon, and much blood fresh spilt. Montezuma came out from an adoratory in which his accursed idols were placed, attended by two priests, and addressing himself to Cortes, expressed his apprehension that he was fatigued; to which Cortes replied, that fatigue was unknown to us.

Montezuma then took him by the hand, and pointed out to him the different parts of the city, and its vicinity, all of which were commanded from that place. Here we had a clear prospect of the three causeways by which Mexico communicated with the land, and of the aqueduct of Chapultepeque, which supplied the city with the finest water. We were struck with the numbers of canoes, passing to and from the main land, loaded with provisions and merchandise, and we could now perceive, that in this great city, and all the others of that neighbourhood which were built in the water, the houses stood separate from each other, communicating only by small drawbridges, and by boats, and that they were built with terraced tops. We observed also the temples and adoratories of the adjacent cities, built in the form of towers and fortresses, and others on the causeway, all whitewashed, and wonderfully brilliant. The noise and bustle of the market-place below us could be heard almost a league off, and those who had been at Rome and at Constantinople said, that for convenience, regularity, and population, they had never seen the like. Cortes now proposed to Fra. Bartholome to apply to Montezuma for permission to construct our church here, to which the father for the present objected, thinking it ill-timed. Cortes then addressing himself to Montezuma, requested that he would do him the favour

to shew us his gods. Montezuma having first consulted his priests, led us into a tower where was a kind of saloon. Here were two altars highly adorned, with richly wrought timbers on the roof, and over the altars, gigantic figures resembling very fat men. The one on the right was Huitzilopochtli their war god, with a great face and terrible eyes; this figure was entirely covered with gold and jewels, and his body bound with golden serpents; in his right hand he held a bow, and in his left a bundle of arrows. The little idol which stood by him represented his page, and bore a lance and target richly ornamented with gold and jewels. The great idol had round his neck the figures of human heads and hearts, made of pure gold and silver, ornamented with precious stones of a blue colour. Before the idol was a pan of incense, with three hearts of human victims which were then burning, mixed with copal. The whole of that apartment, both walls and floor, was stained with human blood in such quantity as to give a very offensive smell. On the left was the other great figure, with a countenance like a bear, and great shining eyes, of the polished substance whereof their mirrors are made. The body of this idol was also covered with jewels. These two deities, it was said, were brothers; the name of this last was Tezcatepuca, and he was the god of the infernal regions. He presided, according to their notions, over the souls of men. His body was covered with figures representing little devils with tails of serpents, and the walls and pavement of this temple were so besmeared with blood that they stunk worse than all the slaughter-houses of Castille. An offering lay before him of five human hearts. In the summit of the temple, and in a recess the timber of which was most highly ornamented, we saw a figure half human and the other half resembling an alligator, inlaid with jewels, and partly covered with a mantle. This idol was said to contain the germ, and origin of all created things, and was the god of harvest, and fruits.

The walls and altars were bestained like the rest, and so offensive, that we thought we never could get out soon enough.

In this place they had a drum of most enormous size, the head of which was made of the skins of large serpents: this instrument when struck resounded with a noise that could be heard to the distance of two leagues, and so doleful that it deserved to be named the music of the infernal regions; and with their horrible sounding horns and trumpets, their great knives for sacrifice, their human victims, and their blood besprinkled altars, I devoted them, and all their wickedness to God's vengeance, and thought that the time would never arrive, that I should escape from this scene of human butchery, horrible smells, and more detestable sights.

Cortes, half in jest, addressing himself to Montezuma, expressed his wonder how so wise a prince could worship such absurd and wicked powers; and proposed to him to place on the summit of that tower a cross, and in these adoratories the image of the holy Virgin, and he assured him that he should then be soon convinced of the vanity and deception of his idols. Montezuma shewed marks of displeasure at these expressions, saying, that he would not have admitted us into the temple, had he thought that we would have insulted their gods, who were kind to them, who gave them health and seasonable rains, good harvests, fine weather, victories and whatever else they desired, and whom they were in duty, and in gratitude, bound to worship. Cortes dropped the discourse, observing that it was time for us to go; and Montezuma assenting, said, it was necessary for him to remain, to expiate by sacrifice the sin which he had committed, in admitting us there. Cortes then took leave, and thus we concluded our visit to the great temple of Mexico, descending the steps with much pain to our invalids.*

I will now proceed to relate other matters, in which, if I am not so correct as I ought to be, let it be remembered that my situation was that of a soldier, who was obliged to be

* Suffering by the disease ascribed to Hispaniola.

more attentive to the orders of his officer, than to the objects of curiosity around him. The ground whereon this temple stood, was as much as six of the largest buildings of this country occupy. From the base it diminished to the summit, whereon was a tower, in which the idols were placed, and from the middle of the ascent, to the top, were five concavities, like barbicans, but without parapets. However there are many paintings of temples in the possession of the conquerors, one whereof I have, and those who have seen them will easily form an idea of the outside of this temple. I have heard that at the time they laid the foundations of it, the natives of all that country made offerings of their gold, silver, and jewels, of the seeds of the earth, and of prisoners, all which were buried in the foundations of the building. The inquisitive reader will naturally ask, how I came to know any thing of this, which happened upwards of a thousand years ago. I will inform him. When we got possession of this great city, and that it was to be built upon a new plan, it was determined to place the church of St. Jago on the ground where this temple stood; and in sinking the foundations, we found great quantities of gold, silver, and other valuables, and a Mexican who obtained part of the same ground, discovered more treasure, about which there was a law-suit in support of his Majesty's right, the result of which I am ignorant of. The account was also confirmed by Guatimotzin who was then alive, and who said that the transaction was recorded in their ancient historical paintings. The church which now stands here is called St. Jago el Taltelulco. This temple I have before observed, was surrounded by courts as large as the square of Salamanca, inside of a double inclosure of lime and stone. At a little distance from it stood a tower, a true hell or habitation for demons, with a mouth resembling that of an enormous monster, wide open, and ready as it were to devour those who entered. At the door stood frightful idols; by it was a place for sacrifice, and within, boilers, and pots full of water, to

dress the flesh of the victims, which was eaten by the priests. The idols were like serpents and devils, and before them were tables and knives for sacrifice, the place being covered with the blood which was spilt on those occasions. The furniture was like that of a butcher's stall, and I never gave this accursed building any name except that of hell. Having passed this, we saw great piles of wood, and a reservoir of water, supplied by a pipe from the great aqueduct; and crossing a court, we came to another temple, wherein were the tombs of the Mexican nobility; it was begrimed with soot and blood. Next to this was another, full of skeletons, and piles of bones, each kept apart, but regularly arranged. In each temple were idols, and each had also its particular priests, who wore long vestments of black, somewhat between the dress of the dominicans and our canons; their long hair was clotted together, and their ears lacerated in honor of their gods.

At a certain distance from the buildings of which I have last spoken were others, the idols of which were, as they said, the advocates, or superintendent deities of human marriages, and all round the great court were many houses, which were not very lofty, and wherein resided the priests, and others who had charge of the idols. Here was also a great reservoir of water, supplied with pipes, exclusively for the service of the two idols Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatepuca, and hard by, a large building, where were a number of the young Mexican women, who resided there as in a nunnery, until they were married. They worshipped two female deities, who presided over marriages, and to them they offered sacrifices, in order to obtain good husbands. I have been thus diffuse in my description of this great temple, because it was the most considerable in that city, amongst the many sumptuous buildings of that kind which it contained. The temple of Cholula however was higher than this, having a hundred and twenty steps; it was also held in great veneration, and was built on a plan different from that of Mexico. The

temple at Tezcuco was very large, having a hundred and seventeen steps. All these were of different structure, but agreed in having a number of outer courts, and a double inclosure. One ridiculous circumstance is, that each province had its own peculiar gods, who were supposed to have no concern with any other; so that the idols were innumerable in this country. Having fatigued ourselves with the examination of these scenes, so new to us, we retired to our quarters.

Cortes perceiving how adverse the king was to the conversion of his temple into a christian church, applied to one of the principal officers of his palace, for materials to construct a chapel and altar, within our quarters. His desire being made known to Montezuma, it was instantly complied with, and timber and workmen being provided, in three days we had it completed. Here we said mass every day; we had however to lament the total want of wine for the holy sacrament, it having been all used in the illness of Cortes, the reverend father, and others, during the wars in Tlascala. However we were constant in our devotions, as well on account of our duty, as in order to impress a proper idea of our holy religion, on the minds of Montezuma and the natives. Being employed in looking out for a proper place to fix the holy cross, one of our carpenters observed an appearance on the wall, as if a door had been there, and lately closed up. When this was made known to Cortes, it was privately opened, and on entering the apartment, they found riches without end! The secret soon transpired, and we went, all of us, to view them. I was then a young man, and I thought that if all the treasures of the earth had been brought into one place, they could not have amounted to so much. It was agreed to close up the door again, and we determined to conceal the knowledge of it until the proper time should offer.

A council was now called, composed of Cortes as president, with four captains, and twelve soldiers whereof I was one, and having duly considered how evidently the Lord

guided us, and what wise and valiant captains and brave soldiers we had, as also the fickle disposition of the Indians, who though now kind to us, might change, there was no saying how soon, and that notwithstanding the hospitality with which Montezuma treated us, he might at any moment fall into an opposite line of conduct, we resolved to follow the opinion of Cortes, by adopting the most effectual measure, which was, to seize, and make that monarch our prisoner; as we could not know at what moment we might be perhaps poisoned in our food, and as no gift of his, nor all his father's treasure, could make compensation to us for the alarms, and distressing thoughts, which filled the minds of those of any reflection. For these reasons it was therefore agreed to adopt the measure without delay. The captains who were present proposed, that Montezuma should be induced by a plausible pretext to come into our quarters, and when there, to seize him, and if he resisted, to make his person answer it: and they urged, that of the two great dangers, this was much the least. It was then observed by some of our soldiers, that Montezuma's officers did not provide us so plentifully as at the first, and two of our Tlascalan allies had told our interpreter, Aguilar, in confidence, that they observed a bad disposition on the part of the Mexicans towards us, for the two last days. This debate lasted a full hour; at length it was agreed to adjourn until the next day, and in the mean time we consulted our reverend father of the order of mercy, praying to God to guide us in this difficulty. On the day after this debate, arrived two Indians of Tlascala very secretly, with letters from Villa Rica, whereby we were informed, that Juan de Escalante had fallen, together with six soldiers, in a battle with the Mexicans,[1] and that the inhabitants of the mountains and of Cempoal were in commotion, and refused to supply provisions, or to work, so that the garrison knew not what to do. These letters added, that the opinion of the Indians were much altered since they

[1] Cortes received the intelligence of this event in Cholula.

found that the Spaniards could be killed like other men. God knows this intelligence afflicted us; it was the first defeat that we had experienced since we landed on that continent; and here let the reflecting reader ponder upon the changes which fate makes in the affairs of men. We who yesterday were honored by Montezuma, in possession of wealth, and considered invulnerable like demigods, to day found ourselves lowered in the consideration of the natives to a level with them in whose power we were. We now therefore saw in a stronger point of view than ever, how necessary it was for our very existence to seize Montezuma, and that if we failed, we might as well perish in the attempt as meet our certain fate in any other way. But before I go farther I will give an account of the misfortune which befel Juan de Escalante.

I have already related, that in a town named Quiabuistlan, about thirty chiefs of the neighbouring districts had voluntarily come under our government. A Mexican garrison, it appears, attempted to levy contributions upon some of these people. When this was represented to Escalante the commandant in Villa Rica, he sent word to the officers of Montezuma to desist, threatening them in case they did not, but at the same time expressing his wishes to be on friendly terms with them. To this an abrupt reply was returned, that he should find them in the field. Escalante was a man who had blood in his eye, and on receiving this answer he immediately prepared forty of his own people, and two thousand of his allies, and put himself in march against the Mexicans, whom he met out upon a pillaging expedition, and attacked. Our allies who were always afraid of the Mexicans, fled at the first shower of arrows, and left the poor Spaniards to get out of the business as well as they could. With great difficulty they arrived at Almeria, where Escalante and six soldiers soon died of their wounds. One soldier they took alive; his name was Arguello, a native of Leon; this man had a large head, and thick curled beard, and was of great

bodily strength. Such is the truth of the affair at Almeria, which is entirely different from the account of the historian Gomara, where he says that Pedro de Ircio went to colonize Panuco with a party of soldiers, at a time when we had not a sufficiency of men to keep up our guards. In many things which that historian relates concerning the seizure of Montezuma, he ought to have recollected that eye witnesses to that transaction were yet alive, to contradict him.

The Mexican captains reported the affair to Montezuma, and presented him with the head of the Spanish soldier, who died of his wounds, as they were bringing him prisoner. It is said that Montezuma trembled when he beheld it, and ordered it to be sent elsewhere. He asked his captains why, being so numerous, they had not conquered such a handful of men; they replied, that the reason was, because they beheld a supernatural being, who encouraged the Spaniards, and struck terror into their people; and this Montezuma believed could be no other than the holy Virgin Mary, with her son in her arms, as we had explained to him that she was our patroness. This I cannot testify to, not having been there myself, but some of those who were there assured me of the truth of it, and it was the universal belief amongst us. Would to God that it were so! Certain however it is, that the divine mercy was with us throughout, for which praised be God!

It having been decided that we should seize the person of the king, we passed the whole of the preceding night in praying to our Lord, that he would be pleased to guide us so that what we were about to do should redound to his holy service, and in the morning [2] we proceeded to arrange the manner in which our determination was to be carried into effect. Our cavalry and infantry were as usual in readiness to turn out if called upon, and as it was always our custom to go fully armed, the appearance in that manner gave no suspicion. Cortes having left our whole force in readiness,

[2] Eight days after the arrival of the Spaniards in Mexico.

proceeded to the palace, attended by the captains, P. de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval, J. V. de Leon, Fra. de Lugo, and A. de Avila, with the interpreters Donna Marina and Aguilar; sending before him to acquaint the king, that he was on his way to pay him a visit. This he did in order to prevent any effect arising from an unexpected appearance. The king concluded that it was on account of the affair of Almeria, and that Cortes was enraged about that which in reality he did not care the value of a chesnut for, and sent back word to Cortes that he was welcome. Accordingly, our general, and we who attended him, having entered into the presence of Montezuma, after paying him his respects, he addressed the king through his interpreters, saying, he was astonished that a monarch who was so brave, and who had shewn himself so friendly to us, should have given orders to his troops in Tuzapan to attack the Spaniards, kill one of them, and his horse, and pillage and destroy our allies. Cortes wished to conceal the death of Escalante and the six others. He then charged the king with the treacherous attempt against us in Cholula, which he said he had hitherto been deterred from speaking of, by motives of esteem and regard; but that now, in addition to these provocations, his officers were plotting our immediate destruction, and he concluded by saying, that, in order to prevent the ruin of the city, it was necessary that his Majesty should, peaceably, and without making any opposition or remonstrance, immediately go with us to our quarters, where he should be treated with the greatest respect; but that if he said one word, or gave the least alarm, the five captains then present would instantly put him to death. On hearing this Montezuma was at first so terrified that he appeared to have lost all sensation. Having recovered himself a little, he denied his having ever given any order to his troops to attack our countrymen, and taking from his wrist the signet of Huitzilopochtli with which he was used to confirm any order of great importance, he caused the officer of whom complaint had been made, to be sent for.

He then replied to the proposal of leaving his palace, and summoning up his dignity said, that he was not the person to be forced to take such a step, contrary to his inclination. The conversation was prolonged, Cortes giving him good reasons for what he proposed, and the king replying to him with better, insomuch that above half an hour had now elapsed. The captains who were standing by began at last to grow very impatient, and J. V. de Leon cried out to Cortes in his rough voice, "Why Sir do you waste so many words? Let him yield himself our prisoner, or we will this instant plunge our swords into his body. Tell him this, and also, that if he says a word, he dies for it. Better for us to assure our lives now, or perish at once." The manner in which this was spoken struck the king, and he asked Donna Marina the meaning of it. She with her usual readiness answered by requesting that he would immediately consent to what was proposed to him, and go where he should meet all respect and honor, as she perceived that if he hesitated, they were resolved to put him to instant death. He then addressed Cortes and said, "I have a legitimate son, and two legitimate daughters; take them as hostages for me, but do not expose me as a prisoner to my own people." Cortes however replied saying nothing but what was originally proposed could do, and that remonstrances were unavailing. At length he was forced to consent, upon which our captains addressed him with every declaration of esteem and respect, earnestly desiring that he would not be offended at what had passed, and that he would tell his officers and guards that he went by his own free will, and by the advice of his gods and priests. His magnificent state litters were now brought, and attended by his usual guards he proceeded to our quarters, where our posts and centinels being duly placed, he was received and entertained with every mark of respect. He was soon waited on by the princes of his family and the chief nobility of Mexico, who came to know the cause of the step that he had taken, and also if it was his wish that they should

attack us; but he replied, that it was his intention to stay with us for a few days, and that whatever further commands he had for them, he would signify in due time; but charged them to do nothing to disturb the city.

Thus was the seizure of the great Montezuma effected. He was attended while with us in the same manner as in his own palace, his wives, family, and officers, were with him, and he bathed every day: he appeared calm and resigned, and had always in his presence twenty counsellors or chiefs. Ambassadors came to him on affairs of importance from distant countries, either to deliver tribute, or with business which he dispatched. I recollect that however great the prince or chief might be, before he entered the king's presence he took of his rich dress, and put on a plain one of the coarse manufacture of nequen, and in this habit, and barefooted, approached the royal apartments, which he entered, not directly, but making a circuit by the wall: and having come, with his eyes cast down upon the ground, into the presence of the king, he made three profound bows, and addressed him, calling him, "Lord, my lord, great lord." He then displayed before him a cloth, whereon was painted and represented the business on which he came, the particulars of which he pointed out to him with little rods, or wands, delicately wrought and polished. During this time two old lords stood by the king, and as soon as they had attentively considered all the particulars, they gave their opinions upon it to Montezuma, who dispatched the affair with a few words. The person who had brought it, then, without making any reply, withdrew from the king's presence, making three profound bows, and keeping his face towards the throne till out of sight; and as soon as he was out of the royal apartments, he put on his rich dress, and walked about the city.

The messengers, who, as it has been mentioned, were dispatched with the royal signet, to arrest and bring to Mexico the officers of whom our general had complained, soon returned with them. On their arrival and being

brought into their monarch's presence, I do not know what passed, but he immediately sent them to Cortes to do with them as he thought fit. Being examined when the king was not by, they avowed all that had happened, and said they did it by the orders of Montezuma, which were, that they should if necessary recur to force, to obtain the tribute due, and attack the Spaniards if they appeared in support of his refractory subjects. Montezuma being charged by Cortes with this which now appeared, he endeavoured to exculpate himself as well as he could; but Cortes told him, that although his participation in the guilt of his officers was evident, and although the orders of our monarch were to punish with death all who inflicted death, yet such was his regard for him, that he would sooner lose his own life than do his Majesty an injury. All these assurances however could not remove the fears of Montezuma.

As to the officers, Cortes sentenced them to be burnt alive in front of the palace of their king; this was immediately proceeded upon, and during the time of its taking place, and in order to prevent any impediment occurring, he also ordered that Montezuma should be put in irons. When this was doing, the unfortunate king could no longer suppress his emotions at the indignity, but wept aloud. In this situation he remained until the execution was over, at which time Cortes, attended by his five captains, went to his apartment, and with his own hands freed him from the irons, assuring him that he was dearer to him than even a brother, and that he trusted soon to be able to make his dominions exceed double their present extent; and also, that if he wished to go to his palace, he was at perfect liberty to do so. Montezuma's spirit was now broke, and the tears ran down his cheeks while Cortes was speaking; he declined the offer with thanks, knowing well the emptiness of his words, and added, that he considered it most prudent to remain where he was, in order to prevent disturbance and insurrection in the city. What we understood and certainly was the case, was, that

Cortes had caused the interpreters to say that though he was inclined to release him, the other officers never would allow it. As soon as Montezuma had given his answer, Cortes threw his arms round his neck, and protested that he loved him as himself. The king then asked of him his page Orteguilla, a youth who had already learned the language, and Cortes immediately complied with his request, whereby Orteguilla afterwards remained about the person of the king, a circumstance very useful both to him and to us. Montezuma was very partial to the youth, from whom he was constantly used to enquire particulars relative to Europe, and Orteguilla from his knowledge of the language, was able to communicate to us whatever he observed, that was of importance for us to know. Thus Montezuma remained amongst us, treated with the greatest respect, no officer or soldier, nor even Cortes himself, coming into his presence, or passing him, without pulling off his helmet, and he always treated us most kindly and courteously.

The officers of Montezuma who were publicly executed as I have related, were four in number.[3] Their names were Quetzalpopoca who was the principal, Coatl, Quiabuitle, and another whom I have forgotton, nor is it of much importance. As soon as this chastisement was known through the different provinces of New Spain, it struck universal terror, and the people on the coast returned to their submission. Now let the curious consider upon our heroic actions; first, in destroying our ships and therewith all hope of retreat, secondly, in entering the city of Mexico after the alarming warnings that we had received, thirdly, in daring to make prisoner the great Montezuma king of all that country, in his own capital, and in the centre of his own palace, surrounded by his numerous guards, and fourthly, in publicly burning his officers in front of his palace, and putting the king in irons during the execution. Now that I am old, I frequently re-

[3] They were seventeen in all: Quetzalpopoca lord of Nauhtlan, his son, and fifteen other noblemen.

volve, and reflect upon the events of that day, which appear to me as fresh as if they had just passed, such is the impression they have made upon my mind. I say, that it was not we who did these things, but that all was guided by the hand of God, for what men on earth would otherwise have ventured, their numbers not amounting to four hundred and fifty, to have seized and put in irons a mighty monarch, and publicly burned his officers for obeying his orders, in a city larger than Venice, and at a distance of a thousand and five hundred leagues from their native country!!! There is much matter for reflection in this, and it merits to be detailed otherwise than in the dry manner in which I relate it.

Cortes now thought it necessary to appoint a commandant at Villa Rica. For this purpose he chose Alonzo de Grado, an indifferent soldier, but a person of good understanding, who spoke well, and was of a handsome appearance; he was also a musician, and an excellent penman. He was always in opposition to Cortes relative to our advance to Mexico, and was the principal orator on those occasions. Cortes when he gave him the appointment good-humouredly said to him, "Now Senior de Grado, go and possess your wishes; you are commandant of Villa Rica, and see that you fortify it well; and mind I charge you on no account to go out and fight the wicked Indians, nor let them kill you as they did Juan de Escalante." This Cortes said ironically, knowing the condition of the man, and that all the world could not have got him to put his nose out of the town. We who were listening to this, and perceived his drift, could hardly forbear laughing aloud. He then gave him his instructions to behave kindly to his Indian neighbours, and not permit them to be robbed or oppressed: he also desired him to cause the smiths who were in that settlement to make two large chains, out of the old iron of the ships, and send them to him immediately, and to lose no time in proceeding with the construction of the wooden fort. When De Grado arrived at his government, he affected to carry on business with a lofty demeanour, and

sent to the neighbouring Indians who were at peace with us, requiring them to give him gold, and female slaves; paying no attention whatever to the fortifications, but passing his time in feasting and play. What was worse, he combined with the adherents of Velasquez, offering to put him in possession of the post he was entrusted with. These things being soon communicated to Cortes, he repented of his imprudent step in appointing to such a place a man whose bad disposition he well knew: he also foresaw that Velasquez must sooner or later find out that he had sent agents to Old Castille, and would probably send a force against us. For these reasons it was necessary that he should have a person of confidence in the command at Villa Rica; he therefore sent Sandoval, who was now alguazil mayor, with whom went Pedro de Ircio already mentioned, who gained the confidence of Sandoval, a goodnatured man, by diverting him with anecdotes of the families of the Count de Urena, and Don Pedro Giron, in which he had served. De Ircio by these means gained his favor so completely, that he never ceased promoting him, till he had got him the rank of captain: instead of which promotion, for the licenses he gave his tongue, and for which Sandoval at times reprehended him, he deserved to have been well punished. Sandoval on his arrival at Villa Rica immediately arrested De Grado and sent him prisoner to Mexico, under a guard of Indians, according to the orders of Cortes. The new governor soon made himself very popular amongst the natives by his affability and humanity, and he immediately began to put the fort into proper repair. Cortes would not see De Grado on his arrival, but confined him in the stocks, where he remained two days. I recollect that the timber whereof these were made has a strong smell of garlic. De Grado, who was a man of great plausibility at last made his peace, and was employed, not in a military capacity, but in one conformable to his talents, being given the office of contador, which had been held by Avila, who was sent as procurador to the Island of St. Domingo. Sandoval had

orders to send the iron-work necessary for the construction of two vessels, which he punctually executed, and the various articles arrived safely in Mexico.

Cortes, regularly every day after mass, went to wait on Montezuma, attended by all his officers, and asked him what he would be pleased to order that they could execute; to which the king used to answer, thanking him, that he found himself perfectly to his satisfaction. Thus, from one subject to another they usually fell into discourse about our holy faith, and the power of our emperor. At other times, Montezuma and Cortes used to play at a certain game which they call Totoloque, in which they take aim with golden balls at certain objects made also of gold. I remember once in particular, when Cortes and Alvarado were playing against Montezuma and his nephew, Montezuma jocularly said that he would not allow Tonatiu, meaning Alvarado, so called on account of his handsome person, that word meaning the sun, to mark, expressing himself in such a manner as to imply, that Alvarado did not say that which was true; at which we all burst out laughing, because Alvarado was a little addicted to exaggeration. When Cortes gained, he gave his winnings to those about Montezuma, and when the king gained he did the same to our soldiers of the guard. Indeed he never let a day pass, without making presents of some kind to all of us, but more particularly to Velasquez de Leon who was the captain of his guard, and always paid him great attention. One night a soldier named Truxillo, was guilty of a certain piece of disrespect within his hearing, at which Montezuma was highly offended, and enquired of the page who the person was. The page told him that he was a man of low birth, who knew no better. He then proceeded to tell him of our different ranks and qualities, about which he was very curious. On the next day he ordered Truxillo to be brought into his presence, and after having reproved him, he made him a present worth about five crowns. The words of Montezuma made less impression on the soldier than his

gold, and on the next night the fellow was guilty of the same piece of impoliteness, in order to get more. Of this Montezuma complained to Velasquez, who ordered the man to be relieved, and severely reprimanded him. Another soldier one night complained that he was ill, cursing this dog of an Indian, meaning Montezuma, who gave them so much trouble. This being overheard by the king, who discovered what he had said, he complained thereof to Cortes, by whose command the man was immediately whipped, notwithstanding he was a very good soldier; his name was Pedro Lopez. After this example strict discipline and silence were kept by the guard, to the great satisfaction of the king, who was very kind to us, knew us all, and spoke to us by our names. I was at this time a stripling, and always behaved to him with great respect; his page had told him that I had been twice upon his coasts before the arrival of Cortes, and I had desired the page to mention to him, that instead of gold or mantles, he would oblige by giving me a handsome Indian girl. This request he graciously complied with, calling me to him and saying, "Bernal Diaz del Castillo, the young woman I present to you is the daughter of one of my principal nobility; treat her well, and her friends will give you gold and mantles, as much as you can desire." I kissed his Majesty's hand, thanking him for his favors, and praying God to prosper him; to which Montezuma replied saying, "It seems to me that Del Castillo is of noble condition." Wherewith he ordered me three plates of gold, and two loads of mantles.

I will now relate some more particulars of his course of life. In the morning, having paid his devotions, he eat a slight breakfast, not of meats but vegetables, such as agi or pepper, and then remained a full hour hearing business, in the manner I have already described. The number of judges or counsellors who attended upon him at those times amounted to twenty. His numerous mistresses he used to marry to his officers and particular friends; some of them fell to our lot; mine was called Donna Francisca; a lady of

high birth, as she shewed by her manners. Thus sometimes amusing himself, and sometimes meditating on his situation, the great Montezuma passed the days of his confinement amongst us.

The materials being arrived, Cortes requested that the king give him permission to construct two vessels, for the purpose of amusing himself upon the water, and also that he would order his carpenters to assist. The oak timber was only at the distance of about four leagues, and Montezuma having given his consent, the work went on so expeditiously, by the number of Indian carpenters, and was so ably conducted by our principal builder Martin Lopez, that in a very short space of time, they were built, launched, and rigged, with an awning over each.

Montezuma at this time requested permission from Cortes to pay his devotions, and perform sacrifices, in order that his friends and subjects might see that he lived among us by the order of his gods, and his own choice. Cortes returned for answer, that in so doing, it was his business to beware how he did any thing whereby to lose his life; for that he would send a guard of officers and soldiers with him, giving them strict orders to kill him instantly in case there appeared any thing like a commotion. With this caution he gave him his permission to visit his temple. It was also at the same time signified to him, that no human sacrifice would be permitted; to which Montezuma having agreed, he set out in his usual pomp, and accompanied by four of our captains, Velasquez de Leon, Alvarado, Avila, and De Lugo, with a hundred and fifty soldiers. Our reverent father of the order of mercy also attended for the purpose of preventing human sacrifice. Montezuma on his arrival near the temple came out of his litter, and was supported up to it as usual, being met by a number of priests. They had on the preceding night sacrificed four Indians, nor could all our endeavours prevent that inhuman practice, which we were for the present obliged to connive at, fearing to do any thing which would

cause an insurrection. After Montezuma had staid a short time at his devotions he came down from the temple, and returned to our quarters in great good humour, making presents to all of us who attended him upon the occasion.

The vessels were now afloat upon the lake, fully equipped, and manned with expert sailors, and they obeyed both sail and oar, so as to answer our utmost expedition. When Montezuma was informed of it, he requested Cortes to permit him to go hunting in a certain district, which was prohibited to all others on pain of death. Cortes assented, warning him that his life paid the forfeit of any attempt at a rescue, and he offered him the use of his ships to go there, which Montezuma was greatly pleased with, and accepted.

The swiftest sailing vessel conveyed the king and his suite, the other was occupied by his son and a number of the nobility. They were attended also by a vast number of boats, great and small. Cortes ordered out a party composed of Velasquez de Leon, Alvarado, De Oli, and Avila, all men who had blood in their eyes, and two hundred soldiers, giving them orders to be very watchful over Montezuma: four brass guns with their ammunition and artillery-men, were also embarked.

The wind blew very fresh, our sailors took delight in exhibiting their skill, and the ships seemed to fly across the lake, leaving the vessels of the natives far behind. Montezuma being arrived where he was to hunt, landed for that purpose, and as the place abounded with game, he had soon killed a great quantity of various kinds, such as deer, hares, and rabbits. After having amused himself for some time in this manner, he returned on board the vessel, and set sail for Mexico. We discharged our artillery during the voyage, which afforded him amusement and satisfaction, and he delighted us all by his affable and friendly behaviour; nor is it possible to describe, how noble he was in every thing he did, nor the respect in which he was held by every one about him. One day, three of our captains were in his presence

when a hawk entered the apartments pursuing a quaii, which kind of birds, as well as doves, bred in and about the palaces. As our officers and soldiers were admiring the beauty and flight of the hawk, and talking upon the subject in general, Montezuma was curious to know what we were saying, which being explained to him, and also how we could tame hawks and fly them from our hands, Montezuma said that he would order the bird to be caught for us, and giving immediate directions to that purpose, by the next morning his hunters had caught and brought to us the identical bird.

Cacamatzin the king's nephew, and prince of the city of Tezcuco, the largest next to Mexico in the empire, having received information that the king had been now many days kept prisoner by the Spaniards, and that they had also opened the treasury of his ancestors, in order to secure it by a timely effort, convoked his vassals, and also the neighbouring princes. Amongst them was the lord of Matalcingo, a great warrior, and near relation of Montezuma, who was said to have pretension to the throne. These princes and chiefs he summoned, in order to induce them to assemble their forces, and fall upon us in a body. When they were met in consultation upon this proposition, the prince whom I before mentioned to have had pretensions to the throne, made the support of them the condition of his entering into the confederacy. Cacamatzin then brought forward a similar claim, declaring that he would go through the business with his own force, for which purpose he made arrangements with his friends in the city of Mexico. This coming to the knowledge of Montezuma, he immediately forbid any such steps being taken, and communicated to Cortes the information which he had received. The transaction was already in a certain degree known to us, but not to the full extent. Cortes in consequence thereof proposed to take with him a body of Mexicans to attack and destroy the city of Tezcuco, but this determination not being satisfactory to Montezuma, Cortes sent to Cacamatzin, desiring him to desist from his warlike prepara-

tions, as he wished him for his friend. Cacamatzin replied that he was not to be duped like others by plausible words; that he expected soon to see us, and then we might say to him what we would. Cortes once again sent to Cacamatzin warning him not to proceed to hostilities, the consequence of which would be the loss of the king's life; to which this chief returned for answer, that neither the king nor Cortes were of any consequence to him, for that he was determined to persevere in his intentions.

He had at this time a brother in Mexico, who had been obliged to fly thither on account of a family quarrel. This being known to us, our general proposed to Montezuma to call the reigning prince to his court, where we could seize on and detain him until he became more amenable, or if we thought proper elevate the brother now in Mexico to his place. Montezuma agreed to send for him, adding, that if he refused to come, he would give directions for having him brought by force. For this Cortes returned him thanks with many professions of sincere regard, assuring him that he staid by him entirely for his protection, and that for his part he should be happy to accompany him to his palace, but that he could not get his captains to consent to it. The king thanked him, and said that he would immediately send to inform Cacamatzin of his true situation, and how it was adopted of his own free will, and by the advice of his gods; for Montezuma was perfectly well acquainted with the dissimulation practised by Cortes, and that it was only done in order to sound him. Montezuma according to his promise sent a message to the prince, who perfectly understood the manner in which it was obtained, and declared his determination to attack us in four days, saying, that his uncle the king was a pitiful monarch, and no better than a hen, for not having attacked us as he advised him at the pass of Chalco. That for his part he was determined to avenge the wrongs that had been committed by us upon Montezuma and the country, and that if in so doing the throne of Mexico fell to

his lot, he would liberally reward those who supported him.

Some of the chiefs who heard these declarations had scruples upon the subject, objecting to go to war without the orders of their sovereign. This filled the prince with rage, especially when they proposed to send to him for his instructions; he caused three of them to be taken prisoners, and the others who were present intimidated thereby, declared their determination to support him. He then sent a message to Montezuma, representing the disgrace in which he was fallen, by connecting himself with wizards and magicians, and that he would come and put us all to death. Montezuma was highly offended at this, and taking off his seal, he entrusted it to the care of six of his captains, commanding them to go and shew it to certain persons whom he named, as knowing they were not on terms of friendship with the prince, and to signify to them his orders, that they should seize Cacamatzin and send him into his presence. Accordingly they entered where the prince was, discoursing with some of his chiefs, relative to his expedition, and having secured him, together with five others, embarking them in a piragua, they brought them to Mexico, where Cacamatzin was placed in one of the royal litters, and conducted into the presence of Montezuma. The king, after having reproached him for his disobedience and treason, delivered him to Cortes, to do what he thought proper with him, releasing the other prisoners. Cortes thanked the great Montezuma, and made arrangements, that the brother of Cacamatzin should succeed to the principality, by the name of Don Carlos, and he was accordingly invested with this dignity in the presence of Montezuma. The other chiefs who had joined in the measures of Cacamatzin absented themselves from court through fear, but were shortly made prisoners, and brought to Mexico in chains. Thus was concluded this important business, to our entire satisfaction. We continued still paying our court to Montezuma, in the manner so great and generous a prince deserved, never sitting down, not even

Cortes himself, in his presence, until the king commanded it. The conversation frequently turned upon our holy religion, and the truths thereof seemed to be every day making more impression upon the king's mind.

Cortes now entered again upon the subject of Montezuma's acknowledging the sovereignty of our Emperor, to which Montezuma replied, that he would summon the princes his vassals, which he accordingly did, and nearly the whole of them attended within the space of ten days. Among the few who absented themselves was that relation of Montezuma's already spoken of, as of extraordinary prowess in war, who returned for answer, that he would neither come, or pay any more tribute. The king was incensed at this, and sent officers to apprehend him, but without success. The princes being assembled and the little page present, Montezuma reminded them of the ancient prophecies, whereby they were told that from those parts where the sun rises, men were to come to rule the country, and that with their arrival should cease the empire of the Mexicans. The king added, that for his part he believed we were the people spoken of; that he had sacrificed to his gods, requesting in vain an answer from them, but they referred him to the former ones, and commanded him to ask no more, whereby he concluded their will to be that obedience should be yielded to the king of Castille, to whom these strangers were vassals. "I now," continued he, "beseech you to give them some token of submission; they require it of me, let no one refuse. For eighteen years that I have reigned, I have been a kind monarch to you, you have been faithful subjects to me; since my gods will have it so, indulge me by this one instance of obedience." The princes, with many sighs and tears, promised Montezuma, who was still more affected than them, that they would do whatever he desired. He then sent a message to Cortes, telling him, that on the ensuing day, he and his princes would tender their allegiance to his Majesty our Emperor. This they accordingly did at

the time appointed, in the presence of all our officers, and many of our soldiers, not one of whom could refrain from weeping, in beholding the agitation and distress of the great and generous Montezuma.

Cortes and his captains being in the presence of Montezuma, conversing about indifferent subjects, the general took an opportunity to ask some questions relative to the gold mines. Montezuma told him that the richest were in the province of Zacatula, and he gave an account of the manner in which the gold was obtained, which was, by washing the earth, the small grains of metal sinking to the bottom. He also informed Cortes that they obtained it in two rivers in the province of Guztepeque, where the natives did not obey him, but that if Cortes would send some troops thither, he would order his officers to conduct them. Cortes thanked the king, and pitched upon the pilot Umbria, and two soldiers to examine the mines of Zacatula. To those in the Chinantecan and Zapotecan territories he sent a captain named Pizarro, a young man, his relation; but at that time the names of Pizarro and Peru were equally unknown. The latter took with him four soldiers used to mining, and four noble Mexicans. Montezuma then presented Cortes with a map, admirably painted on cloth, of the whole northern coast as far as Tabasco, an extent of a hundred and forty leagues. Among the rivers was that of Guacacualco, which Cortes determined to have examined, and Diego de Ordas offering himself, was accepted by Cortes contrary to his own inclination, as he was a person from whose advice and judgement he derived great advantage. Montezuma told De Ordas on his departure, that his power did not extend where he was going, but that if he wished for the assistance of his frontier garrisons, he was welcome to take them.

The first who returned was Gonzalo de Umbria. He brought with him gold to the value of three hundred crowns, and reported that the mines would be very valuable, if they were as expert at the business there, as in St. Domingo or

Cuba. Two principal persons of that country also attended him to Mexico, and brought a present of gold of about a hundred crowns value, offering to become his Majesty's subjects. The having ascertained the situation of the mines was matter of great satisfaction to Cortes. Umbria described the country in which he had been as very rich and populous, and indeed he and his companions seemed to have returned no way the worse for their journey, and Cortes intended that it should be so, in order to make up their former differences.

Diego de Ordas reported that he had passed through very populous districts, and had been universally well received; that he had met with bodies of the troops of Montezuma on the frontiers, of whose outrages the inhabitants made heavy complaints, for which De Ordas severely reprehended the military chiefs, threatening them with the punishment of the lord of Nauhtlan. Proceeding towards the river he was hospitably received, by the caciques and inhabitants of the neighbouring country. On sounding the mouth of the river they found three fathom water at low-tide, in the shallowest part, and within the bar, water sufficient for large ships, it still deepening as they went higher up. He also found a place fit for a naval establishment, where the natives came to him, and offered themselves as vassals to his Majesty, complaining bitterly of Montezuma and his officers; they also pointed out to our people the place, where, in a late action they had killed many of his troops, and which they had in consequence named "Cuilonemequi," that is to say the place of the slaughter of the Mexicans, giving them a most opprobrious epithet. He further represented the soil of the country as fit for cattle and tillage, and the port as well situated for trade with Cuba, St. Domingo, and Jamaica, but disadvantageous in regard to its distance from Mexico, and the Morasses in its neighbourhood. Pizarro returned from Tustepeque with gold in grains to the value of a thousand crowns. He related how he ascended into the mountains inhabited by the Chinantecans, who sallied out under arms, and

refused to suffer the Mexicans to come among them, vowing that they would kill them all if they attempted it; but our people were admitted willingly, and they there obtained gold in its native state with a rough surface. Pizarro brought with him certain of the chiefs of the country, who wished to renounce the Mexican yoke, and become subjects of his Majesty. These Cortes received most kindly, and dismissed to their homes with a promise of support and protection. He then enquired for the other soldiers; to which Pizarro replied that the country being rich, and the people well inclined to us, he had left them to make a plantation of cocoa and to collect stock and birds; as also for the purpose of exploring the rivers and mines. Cortes said nothing at the time, but severely reprimanded him in private, for going beyond his orders, and employing the soldiers in such ridiculous pursuits. He also immediately sent off a messenger, with orders to them to return to their head quarters.

Cortes now demanded of Montezuma a general contribution of gold to be made through the whole extent of his territories, to our emperor, and also that the king should deliver to us his treasure for the same purpose. Montezuma immediately sent officers to those districts where the mines were, requiring a quantity of plates of gold, of the usual size paid in tribute, two of these being sent as a standard. He at this time however remarked to Cortes, that from many of his districts gold was not to be expected in any considerable quantity, the people only possessing such toys as had been transmitted to them from their ancestors. Much gold was immediately transmitted from the rich provinces, but when the order was received by the refractory lord who was nearly related to Montezuma, the answer which he returned was, that he would pay no tribute, for that he had as good a right to the throne of Mexico as Montezuma himself. This greatly enraged the king, who immediately sending trusty officers with his token, the seal, they apprehended and brought this chief to Mexico. When he came into the pres-

ence of the king he behaved with such insolence to him as appeared to border upon madness, and Cortes learning these particulars, and also that Montezuma had ordered him to be put to death, interceded in his favor, and obtained leave to keep him in his custody. As soon as he had an interview, he addressed this chief very kindly, and endeavoured to make a friend of him, offering him his liberty, which however Montezuma would not accede to, but desired he should be put in chains as the others had been.

In twenty days from the time of the orders being issued, the tribute was collected. The king then summoned Cortes, with the captains and soldiers who usually formed his guard, and addressed us saying, "Know, that I am indebted to your great king, and esteem him, for having sent an embassy to me from such a distance, and also because I am convinced that according to what we have heard from our ancestors, he is to rule us; a prophecy which is confirmed by the declarations of our gods. Take this gold, which is all that could be collected on so short a notice, and also the treasure which I derive from my ancestors, and which I know you have seen; send it to your monarch, and let it be recorded in your annals, that this was the tribute of his vassal Montezuma. I will give you for your emperor some most valuable jewels named Calchihuis, each of which is worth two loads of gold; I will also send three tubes used for shooting darts or pellets, so richly adorned with jewels that he will be pleased to see them, and this which I now give is the last of the treasure which has remained with me." We all took off our helmets, and returned thanks to the great Montezuma for his liberality and munificence, which Cortes promised that he would represent in the strongest terms to his Majesty.

After some more conversation, Montezuma commanded his officers to deliver to us the treasure which was in the concealed apartment. This was accordingly done, and we were for the space of three days constantly employed in taking it to pieces, from the various manners in which it was worked

up; in this we were also assisted by the royal goldsmiths from Escapuzalco. When thus separated, the articles of gold were formed in three heaps, weighing upwards of six hundred thousand crowns, exclusive of the various other valuables, the gold in plates and bars, and the metal in its rough state from the mines. The goldsmiths melted down the metal which was in the heaps, and ran it into bars of the breadth of three fingers. When this was done, another present was received from Montezuma, so rich that it was worthy of admiration, exclusive of the jewels called calchihuis, the ornamented tubes covered with jewels and pearls, the beautiful embroideries of pearls and feathers, and the penaches, and plumage, a recital whereof would be endless. The bars of gold were stamped with the imperial arms by the approbation of us all, and as to the rich ornaments, it was judged best that they should not be taken to pieces. We also caused weights to be made of iron for the purpose of ascertaining the quantity of gold in the bars. They were not perfectly exact, but perhaps an ounce more or less, being arrobas, half arrobas, and down to four ounces. The officers of his Majesty valued the gold, altogether, and exclusive of silver and ornaments, at six hundred thousand crowns; but some said that it amounted to more. Nothing farther was then thought necessary, than to deduct his Majesty's fifth, and distribute the shares to the officers and soldiers; Cortes however proposed that the division should be postponed until more treasure was brought in, and more exact weights made, but the soldiers were clamorous for an immediate division, for they perceived that since the various articles had been taken to pieces, above a third part was already gone; for Cortes, the captains, and others, were conveying it off and concealing it. At length it was determined to weigh it, and to postpone the division until the ensuing day. It was accordingly so done, and exclusive of the ornaments and plates of gold, it was found to amount to upwards of six hundred thousand crowns. I will now relate how it was

A CEREMONY IN THE WORSHIP OF HUITZOLOPOCHTLI, THE AZTEC GOD OF WAR.

divided, and how the most of it remained with Cortes and certain others.

In the partition of the treasure Cortes first laid aside his Majesty's fifth; secondly, for himself, another fifth; thirdly, a portion of the gold to reimburse the expences in the Island of Cuba, and also for the naval expenditure incurred by Velasquez, and the destruction of the ships; fourthly, for the expences of our agents in Spain; fifthly, for our soldiers in Villa Rica; sixthly, for the loss of killed horses; seventhly, for the reverend father and the captains; eighthly, double shares for the cavalry, musketeers, and crossbow-men. Thus by the time all these drafts were made, what remained for each soldier was hardly worth stooping for!! Many refused to take their shares, and the whole, nearly, remained with Cortes. We were obliged to be silent, for to whom could we appeal for justice? Some at length took their shares at a hundred crowns, and then cried out for more; these men's mouths Cortes stopped, giving privately a little to one, and a little to another, with promises in abundance on condition that they kept themselves quiet. That which was allotted to the soldiers in Villa Rica went no better, as shall be related in its place, and such was the result of the division of Montezuma's treasure.

Our captains got chains of gold made for them by the king's workmen; Cortes had also similar works executed for him, together with a service of plate. Many of our soldiers who had lined their pockets well did the same, and deep gaming went on, day and night, with cards made out of the heads of drums; and thus we passed our time in Mexico.

Quitting for the present the subject of Montezuma's gold, badly divided, and worse employed, I will relate what happened to a poor fellow, one Cardenas a pilot and a native of Triana. He had a wife and children, and like many others of us little or nothing to give them. When he perceived that all this immense treasure of Montezuma's had dwindled into a share of a hundred crowns, and that he,

after all his battles, had nothing to expect in future but hard blows, it made such an impression on him, and he expressed himself so loudly, that it could not but come to the ears of Cortes. Accordingly when he heard all that, and much more, which had been said, he called us together, and in a long set speech gave us a great many honied words, which he had an extraordinary facility of doing, wondering how we could be so solicitous about a little paltry gold, when the whole country would soon be ours, with all its rich mines, wherewith there was enough to make us great lords and princes and I know not what. To the more loud he gave some small presents, and to Cardenas, he secretly promised to send three hundred crowns for his wife and children. This Cardenas was afterwards very troublesome to him.

As all men are avaricious, as with most the desire of acquiring increases with what they possess, and as it was well known that a great quantity of valuable pieces of gold was taken out of the treasury, suspicion naturally fell on several. Juan Velasquez de Leon had then some large chains of gold, and trinkets and ornaments of that metal, in the hands of the king's workmen, and the treasurer Mexia knowing of it, and also how he had procured the gold, laid claim to them; but De Leon resisted, saying it had been given him by Cortes, before it was ran into bars; to which the treasurer replied, that Cortes had concealed enough, and taken enough from his soldiers already, without giving him so great a quantity. The quarrel rose so high between them, being both valiant men, that they drew their swords, and before they could be parted each had received two wounds. Cortes on hearing it ordered them to be put in arrest, and in chains; this he did to keep up appearances, having privately spoken to De Leon who was his particular friend, and desired him to submit quietly; and the other he released in consideration of his office as treasurer. Velasquez was a strong man, and used to walk much backwards and forwards in the apartment where he was confined. Montezuma hearing the rattling of his

chains, enquired who it was; and being told, he interceded with Cortes for him, on the first opportunity. Cortes laughing replied that Velasquez was a mad fellow, who if he did not keep him confined, would go up and down the country robbing his majesty's subjects of their gold. The good king said, if it was only on that account he was detained, he would supply his wants, and begged that he might be released. Cortes affected to make a favor of it, but at length agreed, declaring that he would banish him from head quarters. Accordingly he went as far as Cholula, but in six days returned, richer, by the king's gold, than when he went. After this Cortes and Mexia were never great friends.

The king at this time made a proposal of marriage to Cortes, offering him one of the princesses his daughters. This offer Cortes received as it merited, and suggested the propriety of her being previously initiated into the mysteries of our holy religion, by being baptized; to which the king who was on all occasions compliant, immediately assented. He, however, continued as attached as ever to his worship and sacrifices, which put Cortes and his captains to a dilemma; but it was thought most consistent with their duties as christians to incur the danger of insurrection, and destroy the idols of the Mexicans, in order to plant the true cross in their place, or if that was found impossible, we resolved to content ourselves for the present with making a chapel for the christian worship in the temple. Seven officers and soldiers attended Cortes, when he waited on Montezuma to signify to him our resolution. When it was made known to him, and he saw the violence with which the measure was determined to be carried into effect, he earnestly begged permission to consult his priests, and Cortes appearing touched with his situation, made signs to the officers and soldiers to retire, and leave the king with him and the reverend father. He then told him, that in order to accommodate the matter more to his satisfaction, he would endeavour to prevail with his officers, for the present to offer no violence to the idols, pro-

vided a part of the great temple was appropriated to the purpose of a chapel, and an altar and crucifix allowed to be placed there; which being once done, his Majesty would in a short time be convinced of the errors and falsehood of his worship. To this Montezuma with much agitation, and the appearance of deep sorrow, heavily consented; and in consequence, an altar and crucifix being erected, mass was solemnly said, and a person was appointed to take care of the chapel.

The time of our stay in this city was one series of alarms, sufficient in themselves to have destroyed the lives of those who were not supported by the divine interposition. It appeared, that in consequence of our late measure, and the representations of the priests acting upon the prejudices of the people, our dangers were now thickening on us. Their gods threatened to leave them unless we were put to death, for having violated their temple, and it was the determination to obey their will. This resolution was communicated to Montezuma by his priests, and all his chief warriors, who added to their religious subject of complaint, every other which they could collect, relative to our conduct since we arrived in Mexico. The page Orteguilla also at this time came to inform Cortes of some alarming circumstances, such as a number of secret conferences which he had observed, between Montezuma and his nobility and chiefs, the angry and melancholy countenance of the king, and other circumstances highly important and interesting to us. Cortes immediately on hearing this, taking with him five of his captains, and his interpreters, waited on Montezuma. The king seemed much distressed, and informed him, that he was grieved to have lately learned, that it was the determination of his gods that we should all be put to death, or expelled from Mexico; he, therefore, being our sincere friend, recommended to us on no account to run the risk, but to save our lives, whilst it could be done, by a speedy retreat. Cortes and the rest could not

conceal their uneasiness on hearing this, and no wonder. The general, however, immediately replied, that he was on that occasion much grieved at two things; one was, his not having vessels ready for the purpose of returning, the other, that in case of his doing so, he should be under the necessity of taking his Majesty with him, in order to present him to his sovereign the Emperor. He therefore intreated Montezuma, that he would restrain his priests and warriors, until he should have time to build three ships, saying if this were not acceded to, we were all resolved to die to the very last man; and as a proof of the sincerity of his determination to depart, he declared, that he would immediately send his shipbuilders to fell wood and construct the vessels, on the coast. The determination of Cortes to bring Montezuma with him, made that monarch more distressed and dejected than ever; Cortes then repeated his assurance of no unnecessary delay, and desired the assistance of the king's carpenters in constructing the vessels; at the same time requesting his influence with the priests and nobility, to prevent any insurrection in the city, and his endeavours to appease his gods, provided it were not by human sacrifices.

Cortes immediately proceeded to execute his determination of building the three ships, contrary to what is related by Gomara, who says that the whole was a feint, in order to lull Montezuma and his subjects. But on the contrary, Martin Lopez, the principal carpenter, who is now living, has assured me that he really, and in good earnest, did set about the work, and that the vessels were actually on the stocks. During this time we remained very pensive and sad, in the city of Mexico, from the precariousness of our situation, expecting every moment to be attacked. Our apprehensions were increased by the informations obtained by Donna Marina, and the terror and tears of the page, who, understanding the language, obtained hints which escaped our knowledge. We kept however good and constant watch

on Montezuma, and guard on our quarters, never sleeping out of our armour, and our horses were constantly bridled and saddled all night.

Without meaning to boast I may say of myself, that my armour was to me as easy as the softest down, and such is my custom, that when I now go the rounds of my district, I never take a bed with me unless I happen indeed to be attended by strange cavaliers, in which case I do it only in order to avoid the appearance of poverty, or penuriousness, but by my faith, even when I have one I always throw myself on it in my clothes, such it is to be a true soldier! another peculiarity I have is, that I cannot sleep through the night, but always awaken and get up in order to contemplate the heavens and stars, and thus I amuse myself, walking backwards and forwards, as I used to do when on guard, for a good space of time, without hat or cap; and glory be to God, I never yet caught cold, nor was a jot the worse for it. And this the reader must pardon me for mentioning, it not being from vanity, but that I wish him to know what kind of men we, the true bred soldiers, and real conquerers of Mexico were.

Chapter ix.

Expedition of P. de Narvaez. His army defeated by Cortes at Cempoal, May 26th. 1520.—Return of the Spaniards to Mexico. War there. Death of Montezuma. Expulsion of the Spaniards, July 1st. Battle of Obtumba. Reception of the Spaniards in Tlascala, July 10th.

THE Bishop of Burgos who was at this time president of the Indies, bore unlimited sway in that department, during the absence of the Emperor in Flanders. He now sent out orders to Velasquez, to seize, and make us prisoners, at all events: in consequence of which the governor of Cuba fitted out a fleet of nineteen ships, and embarked therein an army of one thousand four hundred soldiers, and twenty pieces of cannon, with all necessary ammunition and appointments, eighty cavalry, and one hundred and sixty muskets and cross-bows, the whole being under the command of Pamphilo de Narvaez. Such were his exertions, and his animosity against Cortes and us, that he went for these purposes a journey of above seventy leagues from the Havannah. While he was thus occupied, it appears, that the court of royal audience of St. Domingo, and the brethren of the order of Jeronymites, got intelligence thereof. They, knowing our good intentions, and great exertions for the service of God and his Majesty, and considering also how injurious to the interests thereof, the meditated expedition of Velasquez was likely to be, sent the oydor Lucas Vasquez de Aillon to Cuba, with orders to put a positive stop to the sailing of it. But whatever orders, opposition, or menaces he could make use of for the purpose were of no avail, Velasquez confident of the support of the Bishop of Burgos, and having also expended all his property

in the equipment, was more bent on it than ever, and held the oydor and his authorities in defiance. When the oydor therefore saw that his endeavours to prevent the armament from sailing were in vain, he thought it most prudent under all the circumstances to embark with it, in order to mediate, and prevent any injury to the public service, or, if necessary, by virtue of his office as oydor, to take possession of the country, in the name of his Majesty the Emperor.

The fleet fitted out by Velasquez and under the command of Narvaez, arrived at the port of St. Juan de Ulua without any accident, except the loss of one small vessel. The whole composed a formidable and respectable force, considering that it was entirely created in the Island of Cuba. On its arrival, the soldiers who had been sent in quest of the mines in that country, as has been before related, went on board, and it is said that on so doing, they returned thanks to God for their delivery from the command of Cortes, and the dangers of the city of Mexico. Narvaez finding them so open, ordered that they should be plentifully supplied with wine, to render them more communicative, in which he effectually succeeded. Cervantes the jester, under colour of facetiousness, exposed to him all the discontents of our people relative to the partition of the treasure, and also the quantity that was obtained; giving Narvaez in many points, much more intelligence than he wished to hear. They also informed him of the bad state of the garrison commanded by Sandoval in Villa Rica. The news of the arrival of the fleet was soon communicated to Montezuma, who kept his knowledge of it from Cortes, and at the same time ordered liberal gifts to be presented to Narvaez, whereby a private correspondence was opened between them, to the disadvantage of the former, of whom Narvaez told the king every thing that was bad, saying we were all outcasts and robbers, and that the Emperor hearing of our bad conduct, and of our having detained the great Montezuma in custody, had sent that force to liberate him, and punish us, by putting us all to death.

This intelligence gave the king great satisfaction, for from the account of their force which was accurately represented to him in painting, he thought us lost. He sent more magnificent presents to Narvaez, and could not conceal the satisfaction which he felt. It was now three days since he had received this intelligence, without communicating it to Cortes, who observed and was surprised at the alteration which he perceived in him. At the expiration of that time however, being, from the circumstance of Cortes having paid him two visits in the course of the day, apprehensive of the general having obtained the knowledge of it through some other channel, he told him the news, saying, that he had just that moment received it. Cortes demonstrated the greatest joy, and after Montezuma had shewn him the representations of it which had been transmitted to him, whereby Cortes learned all that it was necessary for him to know, he took his leave, and communicated it to his troops, who instantly got under arms, and fired vollies. We soon however perceived that Cortes when by himself was very pensive, and shortly calling us together, he explained to us the evident destination of this armament, that it was meant against us, and he now, by gifts, as well as promises, as if what we received was his private bounty, instead of our fair right, made interest with us, to continue firm and steady to him in the contest which was to take place.

From the representation of our deserters, Narvaez was induced to send to the governor of Villa Rica, demanding of him to surrender his command. He entrusted this business to three persons, Guevara a man of talents and a clergyman, a relation of Velasquez named Amarga, and one Vergara a scrivener, who accordingly set out for Villa Rica. Sandoval had received information of the arrival of an armament, and guessing its object, prepared against an attack. He sent off all his invalids to an Indian village at some distance, and having exhorted his soldiers to stand by him, he caused a gibbet to be erected, and placed a guard on the road of

Cempoal. When the deputation from Narvaez arrived at Villa Rica, they did not meet a person except Indians, for Sandoval had given orders to the Spaniards not to appear, and remained at home himself. They were perplexed how to proceed, but guessing by the appearance of the house that it must be the governors, after going to mass they proceeded thither. On entering, Guevara saluted Sandoval, and immediately began a conversation, the purport of which was, the great force Velasquez had sent, and the expence he had been at, for the purpose of arresting Cortes, and all with him as traitors; and he concluded by summoning Sandoval to surrender himself and his post to General Pamphilo de Narvaez. The expressions used by this churchman greatly displeased Sandoval, who told him, that if it was not for the protection his holy profession afforded him, he should be punished for his insolence, in using the word traitors to those who were more faithful subjects to his Majesty than either Narvaez or Velasquez; and as to his demands, he referred him to Cortes, telling him to go to Mexico and settle his business with him there. Guevara insisting on executing his mission, called to the notary Vergara to take out his authorities, which he was preparing to do, but Sandoval stopped him, saying, "Look you Vergara; your papers are nothing to me; I know not if they are true or false, originals or copies; but I forbid you to read them here, and by heaven if you attempt it, I will this instant give you a hundred lashes." At this Guevara cried out, "Why do you mind these traitors, read the commission." Sandoval then calling him a lying knave ordered them all to be seized; whereon, a number of Indians who were employed to work about the fortress, having been prepared for the purpose, threw trammels over them like so many damned souls, and making them fast, instantly set off with them on their backs, for Mexico; they hardly knowing if they were dead or alive, or if it was not all enchantment, when they travelled in such a manner, post haste, by fresh relays of Indians, which were in waiting, and saw the large

and populous towns, which they passed through with a rapidity that stupified them. Thus they were carried, day and night, till they were safely deposited in Mexico. Sandoval sent to conduct them, Pedro de Solis, now sirnamed De atras La Puerta, by whom he wrote a line in haste to Cortes, informing him of the particulars. As soon as the general got intelligence of their arrival, he ordered us out under arms, and received them with the greatest honor, loosening them from their trammels, and apologizing for the rudeness of his officer, whom he highly blamed. He gave them the most hospitable entertainment, and treated them with the greatest respect; and having pretty well lined their pockets with gold, he in a few days sent back, as tractable as lambs, those who had set out against him like furious lions.

As our general was one of those whose resources never are exhausted, so also it is hardly necessary to dwell upon the merits of those valiant officers and soldiers, who accompanied him, and by our valour in the field, and wisdom in counsel, supported him through all his difficulties. On this occasion it was determined by us, as most expedient, to send letters to Narvaez and others, which should come to hand previous to the arrival of Guevara. In this we most earnestly requested, that no step might be taken which would endanger our general interests, or encourage the Indians to rise upon us, and we also held out every inducement that friendship or interest could suggest, to bring them over to us. At the same time, under these general offers of kindness, we did not forget secretly to treat with such as we thought likely to be wrought upon, for Guevara and Vergara had both informed Cortes that Narvaez was not well with his captains, and that gold would do wonders with them. Cortes adjured Narvaez in his letters, by their former intimacy, not to give cause by his conduct for the Mexicans to rise and destroy them all, assuring him that they were ready to do any thing to liberate Montezuma, whose disposition had also greatly altered since

the time that Narvaez had begun to correspond with him; adding, that he was convinced, that what was alledged to have been said by him never could have come from so wise a man, but was the fabrication of such wretches as Cervantes the buffoon, and the others, who had misled and misrepresented him. He at the same time offered an unlimited submission to whatever Narvaez would order. Cortes also determined to write to the Secretary Andres de Duero, and the Oydor Lucas Vasquez, and took care that the letters should be well accompanied with presents. When Narvaez received the first letter he turned it into ridicule, handing it about among his officers, calling us traitors, and saying that he would put us all to death; and as to Cortes, he would cut off his ears, and broil and eat them, with a great deal of such absurdity. Of course he sent no reply whatever. Just at this time, Guevara and his associates arrived, and they immediately launched out in the praises of Cortes, declaring the expressions of respect he had made use of relative to Narvaez, the services that he had rendered, and the advantages that would result from a junction of their forces. This put Narvaez in such a rage that he would neither see nor hear any of them again. They then began to converse with their comrades, and when the latter perceived how well furnished they had returned, they already wished themselves amongst us. At this time also, arrived the reverend father of the order of mercy, and brought with him the private letters and presents; he went first to kiss the hands of Narvaez, and to tell him how anxious Cortes was to serve under his command, but Narvaez would not see him, except to revile and abuse him. The reverend father therefore gave up that part of his commission, and applied himself to the distribution of the presents, with such effect, that in a short time all the principal officers of the army of Narvaez were in our interests.

If the oydor was originally inclined to favour Cortes, he was now much more so since he saw the magnificent presents which had been so liberally distributed. This was strongly

contrasted by the miserable avarice of Narvaez, who used to say in his lofty tones to his major domo, "Take heed that not a mantle is missing, as I have duly entered down every article." This penuriousness put his officers in an uproar of exclamation against him, all which he attributed to the intrigues of the oydor Vasquez. There was also a difference between them owing to his not keeping due accounts with the oydor, as was his duty, relative to the provisions sent in by order of Montezuma; and Narvaez being encouraged by the favour and patronage of the Bishop of Burgos, now seized the oydor, and sent him as a prisoner to the Island of Cuba, or Old Spain, and a gentleman of the name of Oblanco, a man of consideration, remonstrating with Narvaez upon this, and saying a good deal upon the merits of Cortes and his associates, was also arrested by him, and thrown into prison, which he took so much to heart that in three days he died. The oydor Vasquez, during the voyage, prevailed on the captain of the ship to land him in St. Domingo, where, waiting on the officers of the royal court of audience, and the Jeronymite brothers, they were highly offended at the treatment their officer had received, and made complaints upon the subject to his Majesty's council in Castille, without any effect however, owing to the influence of the Bishop of Burgos.

The troops sent by Velasquez now quitting the coast, advanced to Cempoal. The first thing that Narvaez did upon his arrival there, was, to take forcibly from the fat cacique, all the gold and mantles, and also the young Indian women who had been given to Cortes and his officers by their parents, and had been left in his care on our march to Mexico. The fat cacique complained to him of this, and also of the robberies committed by his soldiers, saying, that it was otherwise when Cortes and his men were there; upon which Salvatierra, a very impudent boasting fellow exclaimed, "See what fear these Indians have of this insignificant Cortes." And yet I protest, that this man who was so ready

with his tongue on all occasions, when we came to attack Narvaez and his army, was the most despicable cowardly wretch I ever beheld. Narvaez at this time transmitted a copy of the commission which he held under the government of Cuba, the farther particulars relative to which I will mention in their place. Our general received constant intelligence of whatever occurred, from his friends in the army of Narvaez, and also from Sandoval, who now informed him that he entertained five persons of consideration who had quitted Narvaez, assigning as a reason for it, that when they saw he did not respect his Majesty's oydor, still less had they any hopes of good treatment from him, being the oydor's relations. From these persons he had got information of the resolution of Narvaez, to come immediately and seek us out in Mexico.

This being made known to such of us as Cortes was in the habit of advising with, he agreed with us in a general determination, to march against Narvaez and his forces, leaving Alvarado in the command of the city. With him remained all those who were not inclined to go with us, and also all those who we thought would be better from us, as having an inclination towards Narvaez or Velasquez. We also left a sufficiency of provisions, which was the more necessary as the harvest had been deficient, owing to a want of rain. We strengthened our quarters by a good pallisade, leaving eighty three soldiers, with four large guns, twenty four muskets and cross-bows and seven horses, to keep in awe, the populous city of Mexico.

Cortes having waited on Montezuma previous to our march, the king questioned him relative to his intention of marching against Narvaez, both being of the same country, and vassals of the same monarch. He also requested to know if he could be of any service, expressing his apprehension, from what he had heard of their superior numbers; and he also asked of Cortes, an explanation relative to the charges brought by the new comers against him and us, that

we were outcasts and traitors, and that the others were sent to bring us to punishment. Cortes chearfully replied, that he had not before spoken to him on the subject of his departure, because he was convinced it would give his majesty concern; that it was true we were all vassals of the same monarch, but utterly false that we were traitors and fugitives, for on the contrary, we had come fully authorised. That as for their destroying us by their superior numbers, it did not depend upon them, but upon our Lord Jesus Christ, and his blessed mother, who would support us; and he also added, that as our monarch ruled many different countries, the inhabitants of some were more brave than those of others, and that we were all natives of Old Castille, and called true Castillians, whereas our opponents were commanded by a Biscayan; and that his majesty should soon see the difference between us, as he hoped with the blessing of God, to bring them back with him prisoners, and that our going should not therefore give his majesty any uneasiness. He also expressed his hope, that Montezuma would to his utmost endeavour, prevent any insurrection in the city, as he certainly would, on his return, make those who behaved ill in his absence, dearly answer for it. Cortes then took his leave, embracing Montezuma twice, which the king returned, and Donna Marina acquitted herself so well in her office, that she made the separation a very melancholy one. Montezuma promised to do all that Cortes desired him, and offered to assist him with five thousand troops; an offer which Cortes, knowing indeed that he had them not to send, declined, by saying, that he required no aid but that of our Lord Jesus Christ; but he requested that the king would cause due attention to be given to that part of the temple which was consecrated to our holy religion. Having parted from Montezuma, he summoned Alvarado and the garrison of Mexico, and addressing them in a body, he charged them to watch well, and not suffer the king to escape from them, promising, at his return, if they did their duty properly, to make them

all rich. The clergyman Juan Diaz, and certain other suspected persons, he left with Alvarado.

We then set out on our march by the city of Cholula, from whence we sent to the chiefs of the Tlascalans, requiring them to assist us with a force of four thousand warriors. They replied, that if it was against Indians, they were very ready to go; but if against our countrymen, they begged to be excused. They sent us however twenty loads of fowls. Cortes also wrote to Sandoval to join him, with all his force, at a place called Tampinequeta, or Mitalaquita, twelve leagues from Cempoal. We marched without baggage, in regular order, and with two confidential men, foot soldiers, a days journey before us; they did not keep the direct road, but went by those where cavalry could not pass, enquiring for intelligence concerning the army of Narvaez.

When we had proceeded some distance upon our march, one of our advanced parties met with four Spaniards, who turned out to be those of Narvaez, with the proofs of his commission of captain general. On our coming to where they were, they saluted Cortes with great respect, and he immediately dismounted, in order to confer with them. Alonzo de Mata the principal person, was then proceeding to read the documents; but Cortes cut him short, by asking him if he was a royal notary, adding, that on producing his commission he should be obeyed, but if he had it not, he could not be permitted to read any supposed orders; that those of his Majesty he submitted to, prostrate on the ground, but desired to see the original. Mata, frightened, and holding in reality no office under the crown, did not know what to say; but Cortes relieved him from his embarrasment, and he halted here, to give them time to refresh themselves. Cortes told them our destination, and that he was ready to receive any message from their general, of whom he never used a disrespectful expression; but he talked privately with these persons, and used arguments of so convincing a nature, that before they separated, he made them completely his

friends. On their return, they were loud in their praises of Cortes, and his generosity; and of the magnificence of our appearance; for many of our soldiers bore ornaments of gold, upon their arms, and chains and collars of the same about their necks. Sandoval and his party joined us on the next day, at the rendezvouz; they were in all about seventy. With them came the five who had quitted Narvaez, and who were most graciously received by Cortes. Sandoval told him, that he had some time before sent two soldiers, disguised like Indians, into the quarters of Narvaez; their complexions resembled the natives, and each brought a load of fruit to sell. They went directly to the habitation of the brave Salvatierra, who bought their fruit for a string of yellow beads; he then sent them to get grass for his horse, on the banks of a little river; they brought the last load about the hour of vespers, and having fed the horse, they sat there till night, during which time they heard Salvatierra observe to some of his associates, what a lucky moment they had come at, to get the seven hundred thousand crowns, from that traitor Cortes. As soon as it was dark, our soldiers got out of the house unobserved, taking with them the horse, saddle and bridle, and on their way they met with another horse which was lame, and which they also seized and brought off. Cortes laughed heartily when he heard it, and we afterwards learned that Salvatierra had diverted all the army of Narvaez with his absurdities, when he found the trick that had been played upon him. After that time they kept a better watch.

It was determined now by us, to send the reverend father of the order of mercy, with a letter to Narvaez, the contents of which were to this purpose. That we had rejoiced on hearing of so noble a person's arrival in this country, as expecting material advantage therefrom, both to our holy religion, and his Majesty's service; but that contrary to our expectations he had reviled us, and caused the whole country to revolt. That our general had sent, offering to resign to him whatever territories or provinces he chose to occupy, and

to engage in new expeditions. That if he came by virtue of a commission from his Majesty, we demanded a sight of the original, within the space of three days, for which purpose, and to obey it prostrate on the earth, we had now advanced hither; but if no such authority was in his possession, he should return to the Island of Cuba, and not do any thing here that would throw the country into a disturbance, which if he attempted, we would as in duty bound make him prisoner, and send him to be dealt with according to his Majesty's pleasure. That he was answerable for all the lamentable consequences that would ensue, and that this letter was thus sent, because no royal notary dare undertake to deliver one, as according to due form ought to be done, after the violence committed against his Majesty's officer, the oydor, a crime Læsæ Majestatis, the perpetrator of which Cortes was in duty bound to apprehend and bring to justice, and for which he thereby cited him to appear and answer, calling God to witness the justness of his conduct. This letter concluding with expressions of great respect, was signed by Cortes, the captains, and several soldiers, and sent by the Reverend Father Olmedo, and by a soldier of the name of Ulagre, whose brother came over with Narvaez as the commander of his artillery.

Olmedo on his arrival waited in Narvaez with great respect, and also proceeded to execute the rest of his mission, in bringing together certain officers of that army, amongst whom were Rodorigo Mira and Ulagre of the artillery. To these he liberally distributed his gold, and also, more privately, to Andres de Duero, with an earnest invitation to him to visit Cortes. Narvaez soon began to suspect what was the real object of Olmedo, and was inclined to seize and make him prisoner; which being known to Duero, who had great influence with Narvaez, not only on account of his situation, but also from their being some way related, he represented to him the impropriety of committing such an outrage against a person of a holy function. He also sur-

mised to him the great probability that the soldiers of Cortes might be easily won over to him by a little attention and policy. Having by these arguments and other similar ones appeased Narvaez for the present, he took his leave, and informed Olmedo of what had passed. Narvaez shortly after sent for Olmedo, who waited on him, and desired permission to speak to him in private, and there in a laughing manner began to tell him how he knew that he had given orders to take him prisoner, whereas there was not a person existing more devoted to his service, and that he knew to a certainty many persons in the army of Cortes would be very glad to see him delivered into the hands of his excellency; indeed he would venture to say our whole army was of that opinion, and as a proof of it, he assured him, that he possessed a letter full of absurdities, which Cortes had written by the persuasion of those who wished to deliver him up, and which was indeed such ridiculous stuff that he had been once or twice inclined to throw it away, but would with his permission now bring it to him. He accordingly went, as he said, for the letter, pretending he had left it in his baggage, but in reality to call to Duero and others, to desire them to be present as witnesses at the delivery of it.

Duero, in order to carry on his plan of getting an interview with Cortes, then proposed, that steps should be taken to open a communication between them and him, to which Augustin Bermudez a secret friend of Cortes added, that Duero and Salvatierra should be sent upon the business; this he did knowing the character of Salvatierra, who was not at all disposed to the expedition. It was at last settled, that Duero should wait on Cortes to invite him to a meeting for the purpose of accommodation, and the arrangement of their future measures, at a place which lay at a convenient distance between the quarters of the two armies, and that there Narvaez was to seize and make him prisoner, for which purpose he prepared twenty of his soldiers in whom he placed most confidence. Intelligence of all this was immediately

conveyed to Cortes. The reverend father remained at the quarters of Narvaez, having made out a relationship to Salvatierra, with whom he dined every day.

Our general, on first hearing of the arrival of Narvaez, sent a soldier who had served in Italy and understood perfectly the management of the lance, to the province of the Chinantans, who had shortly before entered into alliance with us. They used lances much longer than ours, with blades of sharpened stone. This soldier, named Barrientos, was sent for the purpose of obtaining from them three hundred of their lances, and as there was plenty of copper in that province, he gave him directions to get two heads made of this metal, for each lance. These were accordingly done, being executed with such ingenuity that they exceeded the pattern. He also obtained the assistance of two thousand warriors of this nation, who were to rendezvouz at our quarters, armed in the same manner. Having done this he returned, with two hundred Indians, bringing with them the lances which he had procured for us, and which we found on handling to be extraordinarily good, and we were immediately exercised with them. A muster was also taken of our army, which amounted to two hundred and six,[1] including fife and drum, with five mounted cavalry, two artillery men, few crossbow-men, and fewer musqueteers. And this was the force, and such the weapons, with which we marched against, and were to encounter and defeat the army of Narvaez.

I must recall the recollection of my reader to that part of my narrative, wherein I related how Andres de Duero, and the Contador de Lares, negociated the appointment of Cortes to the station of captain general. Also that they were to make an equal partition of all the treasure that should be acquired by him. Duero now therefore seeing Cortes so wealthy, under colour to Narvaez of a treaty whereby to get Cortes in his power, waited on the latter, in order to obtain from him his share of the riches, for the third partner, De Lares,

[1] Exclusive of the garrison of Villa Rica.

was sometime dead. This Cortes not only acceded to, but moreover promised him equal command with himself, and an equal share of territory when the conquest of the country should be effected; so that it was agreed between them, together with Augustin Bermudez, Alguazil major of the army of Narvaez, and many others whom I will not now name, to get rid of the command of Narvaez altogether. Cortes to confirm these, and bring over others, was more liberal than ever in his presents, with which he loaded the two Indians of Duero. On one of these days of intercourse, after they had been a considerable time together privately, and had dined, Duero having mounted his horse, asked Cortes if he had any commands for him; to which Cortes replied, that he wished to remind him not to deviate from what they had now settled, for that if he did, by his conscience, which was his usual oath, he would be in his quarters within three days, and that he should be the very first person at whom he would throw his lance; and saying this, he bid him farewell. Duero turned off laughing, and said that he would not fail. On his arrival at the quarters of Narvaez, he is said to have told him, that Cortes and all with him were ready to range themselves under his command.

Cortes now sent for Juan Velasquez de Leon, a person of much consideration, and who had always been his particular friend, though a near relation of the governor of Cuba, and on his coming to him told him, in that smooth and persuasive manner that he could put on when ever he pleased, "Senior Velasquez de Leon, Duero has informed me, that Narvaez is anxious to see you in his camp, and that it is reported if you go thither I am an undone man. Now my worthy friend mount your grey mare, put on your fanfarona, (gold chain,) take with you all your valuables, and more still, which I will give you, and go and fix yourself with Narvaez immediately, and distribute the gold I give you according to my directions." Velasquez replied, that he would willingly obey his order in every thing but one, which was that of

taking his treasure with him. To which Cortes answered that he believed as much, but that he did not wish him to go on other terms than what he had mentioned. De Leon still however continued firm in what he had said, and after a secret conference set out for Cempoal. In about two hours after the departure of Velasquez, Cortes ordered the drum to be beat to arms, whereon our little army assembled, and we set forward on our march. On our way we killed two wild hogs, which our soldiers said was a good omen. We slept all that night by the side of a rivulet, according to custom the ground our bed and stones our pillows, and next day arrived at the river and place where the city of Vera Cruz is now built, but which was at that time an Indian village, and planted with trees. As it was about midday and the weather very sultry, we reposed here for the present, being much fatigued by the weight of our arms and lances.

Captain de Leon arrived by day break at the town of Cempoal. The Indians were overjoyed to see him and circulated the news of his arrival, so that Narvaez heard of it, and immediately thereon came out to embrace him. Velasquez having paid his compliments said, that he only came in the hopes of making an amicable arrangement between him and Cortes; upon which Narvaez taking him aside, asked him how he could talk of treating with any such traitor. Valesquez replied, that Cortes was a faithful and zealous officer of his majesty, and desired that no such epithet should be applied to him in his presence. Narvaez however persisted, offering, if he would renounce Cortes, to make him the second in command; to which Velasquez replied that he should be unpardonable in quitting one who had done so much for the service of his God and king. By this time all the principal officers had arrived to salute Valesquez, who was a favorite amongst them, being a very polite and well bred gentleman, of a fine figure and person, and he now wore a great gold chain which made two returns over his shoulders, and round his body, so that he gave the idea of a truly gallant

soldier, and impressed all who beheld him with respect. The Alguazil Bermudez, and Andres de Duero, wished particularly to communicate with him in private, but just at this moment arrived a Captain Gamarra, together with one Juan Yuste, Juan Buono, and Salvatierra the braggart. These persons, determined Narvaez to make him prisoner, for the freedom with which he had spoken in favour of Cortes, and Narvaez had in consequence given privately an order for the purpose, which coming to the knowledge of those already spoken of, as having embarked in the interests of Cortes, they immediately represented to him the impropriety of such a violent proceeding, and how impolitic it would be. Hereupon Narvaez again addressed him in a very friendly manner, requesting his assistance to bring Cortes and the rest of us into their power, and invited him to dine with him the next day. Velasquez promised assistance to his design, but representing Cortes as determined and head strong, he recommended a division of the country, and that each should take separate provinces. At this time Olmedo getting within hearing of Velasquez, and speaking in the manner of a person of trust, addressing himself to Narvaez said, "Let your excellency order out your troops under arms, and shew him what your force is, that Cortes may know, and be terrifyed at it." Narvaez agreeing to this, the troops were turned out in review order, and passed by them. Velasquez complimenting Narvaez upon their number and appearance, and wishing him an increase of his power, the latter replied, saying, he believed Velasquez was now convinced how effectually he could have crushed Cortes and all those with him: to which Velasquez only answered that he trusted they knew how to defend themselves. On the next day he dined with Narvaez, and there was in company a nephew of the governor of Cuba, a captain in the army. The conversation turning on the recent events, this gentleman used very insulting language in respect to Cortes; upon which, Velasquez rising up addressed himself to Narvaez and said, "I have

already requested, general, that you would not permit in my presence, disrespectful language of any of my friends, for we do not deserve it." But the other gentlemen, on this, launching out into still greater liberty with Velasquez himself, the latter instantly laid his hand on his sword, desiring Narvaez to permit him to punish him as a base liar; but the officers present interfering prevented mischief, and it was recommended both to Velasquez and Olmedo to quit the place. Velasquez accordingly, on his excellent grey mare, armed in his helmet and coat of mail which he always wore, and his gold chain about his shoulders, went to take his leave of Narvaez, who returned his salute very coolly. The young man we have before spoken of was again very violent, but Velasquez gave him no other reply than swearing by his beard, that he would in a few days see what materials he was made of: then, taking hasty leave of those who were standing by, he put spurs to his good grey mare, and was soon out of sight, for he had got a hint or suspicion that Narvaez would send after him, and saw some persons on horseback, apparently for the purpose; but he was too well mounted for them, and reached our camp in safety.

We were at that time reposing by the side of the river, after the fatigues of so sultry a march, when a report came from an outpost that horsemen were in sight. On their arrival, what greeting, and embracing, and joy and congratulation! and how Cortes received them! and well he might, for they were eminently serviceable to him. We all got round to hear their narrative. Velasquez told Cortes first how he had executed his commission, and distributed his presents. Then our merry droll friar took off Narvaez when he made him order out his troops in review, to laugh at him; and told us by what finesse he got him to read the letter; and how he had persuaded the bragging fool Salvatierra that he was his cousin, the one being from Olmedo, and the other from Burgos; and of the ridiculous speeches and gestures the fellow made when he was talking how he

would kill Cortes, and all of us, for the loss of his horse; mimicking him to admiration. Thus were we all together like so many brothers, rejoicing and laughing as if we had been at a wedding or a feast, knowing well that tomorrow was the day in which we were to conquer or die, opposed to five times our number. Such is the fortune of war! We then proceeded on our march, and halted for the night by the river and bridge which is about a league distant from Cempoal; at present there is a dairy farm at that place.

After the departure of the reverend father and Juan Velasquez from the quarters of Narvaez, it seems that certain of the officers gave advice to him of the secret practices which had been going on, and recommended to him to be well upon his guard, as Cortes had many friends amongst his troops. The fat Cacique also, who was greatly in dread of being called to account by Cortes, for having delivered up the women and mantles with which he had been intrusted, was very vigilant in watching and obtaining intelligence of our motions, as he was directed by Narvaez to do.

Finding that we had now approached near to Cempoal, the fat Cacique thus addressed Narvaez. "What are you doing, and how careless are you! do you think that Malintzin and his Teules are equally so? I tell you that when you least expect it he will come upon you and put you all to death." Although Narvaez laughed at this, he did not however reject the warning. The first thing he in consequence did was, to declare war against us with fire, sword, and free rope. This we learned from a soldier named El Galleguillo, who came over to us, or was sent by Andres de Duero to Cortes. He then drew up his artillery, cavalry, and infantry, in a plain distant a quarter of a league from Cempoal, where he determined to wait for us. It happened to rain exceedingly heavy on that day, and as the troops of Narvaez were not accustomed to hardship, and moreover despised us, they grew restless and uneasy in their situation, and the captains advised their chief to march them back to their quarters, which he

accordingly did, forming his eighteen guns in a line, in front of the building in which he lodged. His officers also advised, that a grand guard of forty cavalry should be posted for the night on the road of Cempoal, and that some cavalry vedettes, and active foot soldiers, should be placed to watch the ford which we must pass. Twenty of the cavalry were also to patrole during the whole night in and about the quarters of Narvaez. All this was done by the advice of his officers, who wished to get back under shelter, and who despised Cortes, saying it was absurd to suppose he would come to attack them with his pitiful handful of men, and that if he had advanced, it was only a mere ostentation, in order to induce them to come into terms.

When Narvaez returned to his quarters, he promised publicly two thousand crowns to whoever killed Cortes or Gonzalo de Sandoval. He placed as spies at the ford, one Gonzalo Carrasco who lives now in La Puebla, and another soldier of the name of Hurtado. He also filled his own quarters with Soldiers armed with musquets, cross-bows, and partizans, and did the same by those of the Veedor Salvatierra, Gamarra, and Juan Buono.

As soon as we had arrived at the river which runs through the fertile meadows at about a leagues distance from Cempoal, trusty persons being selected and sent to the outposts, our Cortes summoned us all, officers and soldiers, around him, where he was on horseback, and earnestly enjoining silence, addressed us as follows. "Gentlemen, it is well known to you that D. Velasquez governor of Cuba selected me for your captain general, not that your number did not contain many equally worthy; and you also recollect how it was believed by us, and publicly proclaimed, that we came to colonize, when in reality our instructions went no farther than to barter with the natives. You also recollect my determination to return to Cuba, in order to give an account of my mission to him by whom I was entrusted with it, but that by your command I was required to stay and

colonize in the country for his Majesty's service, as, thanks to God, has been done, and a wise determination it was. You also made me as you recollect your captain general, and chief magistrate, until his Majesty's pleasure was known, and we have in consequence rendered essential service to our God and Monarch. I must now remind you how we have written to his Majesty, giving a full account of these countries, and requesting that the government of them may not be bestowed on any unworthy person, and that we, fearing the effect of the arts and influence of the Bishop of Burgos, and of the Governor of Cuba whom he favors, had resolved to maintain his Majesty's government and right in this country, until his royal mandate duly authenticated should be produced to us, which we would then as in duty bound, obey, prostrate upon the earth. You also recollect how we have sent the treasure obtained by us to his Majesty. Now therefore, adverting to other matters, I must remind you how often you have all been at the point of death in various wars and battles, how we have suffered from fatigues, and rains, and winds, and hunger, sleeping on our arms, on the ground and in snow. Not to mention above fifty of our countrymen dead, and your own wounds as yet unhealed, our sufferings by sea and land, the perils of Tabasco, Tlascala, and of Cholula, where the vessels were prepared in which we were to have been boiled, and our perilous entry into Mexico. In addition thereto many of you have been on expeditions of adventure antecedent to this, and have risqued and lost your properties, and now gentlemen, Narvaez comes, and maligns and asperses us with the great Montezuma, and immediately on landing proclaims war against us, with fire, sword, and rope, as if we were infidel Moors." As soon as Cortes had concluded this he proceeded to exalt our persons and valour to the skies, and after an abundance of the most flattering promises he concluded by observing, that Narvaez came to deprive us of our lives, and properties; that he had imprisoned his Majesty's oydor, and that it was uncertain if he

held his command by any more than the favor of the Bishop of Burgos. It was therefore necessary, he said, for us, as faithful subjects, to fight in defence of his Majesty's rights, our lives, and properties, and he now demanded to hear our determination.

Our officers and soldiers all replied, that we were ready and determined to conquer or die; and we warned him not to say any more about an accommodation, or partition of the country, for that if he did, we would plunge our swords in his body. Cortes on hearing this applauded our spirit, saying, that he expected no less, and adding a profusion of promises, and assurances that he would make us all rich and prosperous. He then, adverting to our intended attack, earnestly enjoined us to observe the strictest silence, saying, that to conquer in battle, prudence and silence were more necessary than excess of bravery; that he knew our ardour induced all to strive who should be most forward, and that it was necessary to distribute us by companies, and to appoint to each his distinct duty. Accordingly, he ordered that in the attack the first thing to be done should be, to seize the artillery. For this duty he selected seventy soldiers, of which number I was one, and put us under the command of Pizarro, an active lad, whose name however was at that time as little known as that of Peru. He gave us also further orders, that as soon as we were masters of the guns, we should join and support the detachment which was to attack the quarters of Narvaez. This last mentioned duty he assigned to Sandoval, with seventy selected men, and as this captain was also alguazil major, he gave him a warrant to arrest Narvaez, drawn up as follows.

Gonzalo de Sandoval, alguazil major for his Majesty in New Spain. You are hereby commanded, to seize the body of Pamphilo de Narvaez, and in case he makes resistance, to put him to death; the same being necessary to the service

of God, and his Majesty, whose officer he has imprisoned. Given under my hand, at head quarters,

Counter signed, } Hernando Cortes.
Pedro Hernandez, Secretary.}

Cortes also promised to the first soldier who laid his hand on Narvaez, the sum of three thousand crowns, to the second, two thousand, and to the third, one thousand, as he said, to buy gloves. He appointed captain I. Velasquez de Leon to seize his relation Diego Velasquez, with whom he had the quarrel, and gave him a detachment of seventy soldiers, retaining twenty with himself, as a reserve, to go wherever he saw most occasion, and more particularly to support the attack upon the quarters of Narvaez, and Salvatierra, in a lofty temple. Having thus arranged his troops and instructed his captains, he addressed us in a few words, saying, he well knew that the army of Narvaez was four times more numerous than ours, but that they were not accustomed to arms, and many of them were ill; he therefore trusted, that, attacking them thus unexpectedly, God would give the victory to us, who were his faithful servants, and that next to divine assistance, we were to rely on our own courage, and the strength of our arms; that now was the hour of trial, and that at worst it was preferable to die with glory.

One circumstance has struck me since, which is, that he never once said or insinuated to us that such or such persons in the army of Narvaez were our friends; and in so doing he acted like a wise captain, making us rely entirely on our own exertions, and use them to the utmost, without expecting any other assistance or support. Our three detachments were now formed, and the captains at the head of each, they and the soldiers mutually encouraging each other. Our captain, Pizarro, explained to us how we were to rush in upon the guns with our lances at the charge, and that immediately on getting them in our possession, the artillery men who were

attached to his company should point and fire them against the quarters of Narvaez.

What would we not have given for defensive armour on this night! A morion, a helmet, or a breastplate, would have fetched any money. Our countersign was Spiritu santo, Spiritu santo. That of Narvaez was Santa Maria, Santa Maria.

As Captain Sandoval and I were always intimate friends, he at this time called me aside, and made me promise him that after the capture of the guns if I remained alive, I would seek out and attach myself to him for the rest of the engagement. These things being arranged, we remained with empty stomachs, reflecting on what was before us, and waiting for the orders to march. I was stationed centinel at an advanced post, and had not been there long when a patrole came to me, and asked me if I had heard any thing. I replied that I had not. A corporal soon after came to our post and said that Galleguillo the deserter of Narvaez's army was missing, and that he had come amongst us as a spy; in consequence of which Cortes had given orders that we should march instantly. Accordingly we heard our drum beat, and the captains calling over their companies.

We joined the column, and proceeding on our march, we found the soldier whom we had missed, sleeping in the road under some mantles, for the poor fellow not being inured to hardships was fatigued. We continued our march at a quick pace, and in profound silence, and soon arrived at the river, where we surprised the two vedettes of the army of Narvaez, one of whom, by name Carrasco, we made prisoner, the other flying before us into the town, and giving the alarm. On account of the rain, we found the river deeper than usual, and difficult to pass, owing to the loose stones under our feet, and the weight of our arms. I also recollect that the soldier whom we had made prisoner called to our general, "Senior Cortes do not advance, for I swear that Narvaez is with his whole force drawn up to receive you."

Cortes gave him in charge to his secretary, Hernandez, and we proceeded, and on coming into the town, heard the man who had escaped, giving the alarm, and Narvaez calling to his captains to turn out.

Our company which headed the column, charging our lances, rushed on, and closing up to the guns, made ourselves masters of them without giving the artillery men time to put the matches to more than four, of which one shot only took effect, killing three of our soldiers. Our whole force now advanced with drum beating, and falling upon the cavalry brought down six or seven of them, whilst we who had got possession of the guns could not quit them, because the enemy kept up a heavy discharge of arrows and musquetry from the quarters of Narvaez. Captain de Sandoval and his company coming forward, marched up the steps of the temple, notwithstanding that he was stoutly resisted by the enemy with missile weapons, musquetry, partizans, and lances, and then, we who were in charge of the artillery, perceiving that there was no longer any danger to them, left them to our gunners, and proceeded with Captain Pizarro to support the attack of Sandoval, who had been forced down six or seven of the steps. Supported by us they again advanced, making the enemy give ground in their turn, and just at that instant, if I do not mistake, I heard the voice of Narvaez crying out, "Santa Maria assist me, for they have killed me, and struck out one of my eyes!" On this we all shouted out, "Victory! victory! for the Espiritu Santo! Narvaez is dead."

Still we could not force our way into the temple, until Martin Lopez the shipwright, a very tall man, set fire to the thatch of the roof, and the fire spreading, forced those who were inside to rush out and come tumbling down the steps. P. Sanchez Farfan was the first who laid his hand on Narvaez; we brought him prisoner to Sandoval, together with several of his captains, and continued shouting, "Victory! Live our King and Cortes! Narvaez is dead!"

During this time Cortes and the rest of our army were engaged with those of the troops of Narvaez who yet held out, in some lofty temples which we now battered with the artillery. As soon as our shouts were understood, and the cause of them, Cortes made proclamation that all who did not instantly submit, and range themselves under the standards of his Majesty, and the command of his officer Cortes, should be put to death. This however had no effect on those who occupied the lofty temples where Diego Velasquez and Salvatierra were posted, until Sandoval with one half of our body, and the guns, proceeded against them, and entering, made those officers and the people with them prisoners. As soon as this was done, Sandoval returned to keep guard upon Narvaez, who was doubly ironed. We had also with him under our care, Salvatierra D. Velasquez, Gamarra, Juan Yuste, Juan Buono Viscaino, and many other principal persons. Shortly after, Cortes came in unobserved, fatigued, and the sweat running down his face; and addressing Sandoval, without any congratulation or compliment, told him that it was impossible to describe what he had gone through. Then turning about he cried, "What is become of Narvaez? how is Narvaez?" Sandoval answered, "Here he is very safe." Cortes then said, "Son Sandoval keep good watch on him, and the other captains." After which he hastened out to cause proclamation to be made, that all should immediately lay down their arms and submit.

All this passed during the night, showers falling very frequently, and in the intervals the moon shone; but just at the moment of our attack it was extremely dark, and rained heavily, and a multitude of fire flies appearing at the same time, the soldiers of Narvaez thought that they were the lighted matches of our musquetry.

Narvaez was very badly wounded, and his eye was beaten out; he therefore requested that his surgeon named Maestre Juan should be sent for. This being done, whilst he was under the operation of having his eye dressed, Cortes entered

THE MASSACRE OF MONTEZUMA'S RETAINERS.

the room unnoticed; but being soon observed, Narvaez addressing him said, "Senior Captain Cortes, appreciate as it deserves your good fortune, in having defeated and made me prisoner." Cortes replied that his thanks were due to God, and to his valiant officers and soldiers, but that it was the least of our atchievements since our arrival in New Spain, and that for daring, he thought the arrest of his Majesty's officer much exceeded it. He then quitted the place, again warning Sandoval to keep good guard.

We soon after brought Narvaez and the rest of the prisoners to another apartment, where a guard was placed upon them composed of our most trusty and confidential soldiers. To this duty I was appointed, and Sandoval before he left us called me aside, and gave me a private order to permit no person whatever to speak to Narvaez. We knew that forty of the cavalry were at an outpost on the river; it was therefore necessary to keep a good guard until this party was disposed of, lest they should fall on us in order to rescue their officers. Cortes now sent to them Christoval de Oli, and de Ordas, mounted on two of the horses of Narvaez which we found tied in a small wood close to Cempoal, with unlimited offers if they would come in and submit. Our officers guided by one of Narvaez's soldiers arrived at the post of the cavalry, and by their promises and arguments won them over, and they all entered the town together.

By this time it was clear day. Cortes, seated in an arm chair, a mantle of orange colour thrown over his shoulders, his arms by his side, and surrounded by his officers and soldiers, received the salutations of the cavaliers who as they dismounted came up to him to kiss his hand. It was wonderful to see the affability, and the kindness with which he spoke to and embraced them, and the compliments which he made to them; amongst the number were Augustin Bermudez, Andres de Duero, and many other friends of our general. Each, as he had paid his respects, took his leave, and went to the quarters assigned him. During all this time,

and even before the arrival of the cavalry, the drums, fifes, and timbals of the army of Narvaez never ceased, having struck up at day break in honor of Cortes, without being desired or spoken to by any one of us. One of them a Negro and a comical fellow, danced and shouted for joy, crying, "Where are the Romans who with such small numbers have ever atchieved such a glorious victory?" Nor was it possible to silence him or the rest, until Cortes was at last obliged to order one of them to be confined.

Our losses on each side on this occasion were as follow. The ensign of Narvaez, named Fuertes, an Hidalgo of Seville. A captain of the same army named Roxas, of Old Castille, and two others killed, and many wounded. One also of the three who had antecedently deserted from us to him was killed. Four of our soldiers were killed, and a number wounded. The fat Cacique on our approach had taken refuge in the quarters of Narvaez; he also received a wound: Cortes ordered him to his house, and to be there protected and taken care of. Of the two others who deserted from us, each got his deserts, Escalona being severely wounded, and Cervantes well beaten.

As to the fierce Salvatierra, his soldiers declared that they never saw so pitiful a fellow, nor so terrified a being when he heard our drum beat; but when we shouted for victory, and cryed that Narvaez was dead, he told them that he had got a pain in his stomach, and could fight no more. Such was the result of his bravados. Captain Velasquez de Leon took his relation Diego Velasquez to his own quarters, where he had his wounds attended to, and treated him with the utmost distinction.

The reinforcement of the warriors of Chinanta, which Cortes had been promised, marched in shortly after the action was over, conducted by our soldier Barrientos, with great pomp and regularity, in two files, lanciers and archers alternately, and in this manner they came to the number of one thousand five hundred, with colours, drums, and trump-

ets, shouting, and making such a warlike appearance that it was glorious to behold. It afforded matter of astonishment to the army of Narvaez, for they appeared to be double their real number. Our general received them with infinite courtesy, and dismissed them with thanks and handsome presents.

Cortes now sent Francisco de Lugo to order all the captains and pilots of the fleet to come to him at Cempoal, or, in case they refused, to make them prisoners. He also gave directions that the ships should be dismantled, thereby cutting off all possibility of a communication with Cuba. Narvaez had confined one Barahona, a rich man, and afterwards an inhabitant of Guatimala; him Cortes ordered to be immediately released, and kindly treated; I recollect when he joined us he appeared in a very weak and languid state. The captains and pilots of the fleet immediately came to pay their respects to our general. He made them take an oath that they would not separate from him, and would obey his orders; and he appointed one of them, Pedro Cavallero, his admiral of the whole fleet. Cortes warned him, that if, as he expected, more vessels arrived from Cuba, he should immediately dismantle them, and send the captains and pilots to the head quarters.

Having thus secured his port, he turned to other matters, and ordered Velasquez de Leon with one hundred and twenty men upon an expedition to Panuco. One hundred of them were soldiers who had come with Narvaez; the other twenty were taken from amongst ourselves. This force was also to have two ships with it, for the purpose of extending our discoveries. He gave a command upon a similar plan to Diego de Ordas, to establish a colony at Guacacualco. Ordas was also to send to Jamaica for horses and stock, to establish an independent supply in the country, the province he went to being well adapted for breeding cattle. Cortes commanded all the prisoners to be released, except Narvaez, and Salvatierra, who still complained of the pain in his stomach. He also ordered all the horses and arms which had

been taken from the soldiers of Narvaez to be returned to them; this gave our people much discontent, but since the general would have it so, we were obliged to submit, and I for my part, was obliged to surrender a good horse which I had put in a safe place, with a saddle and bridle, two swords, three poinards, and a shield. Hereupon Captain Alonzo de Avila, and also our Reverend Father Olmedo, took an opportunity of speaking to Cortes, and told him that they believed he had a mind to imitate Alexander of Macedon, who after his army had atchieved any glorious action, was more generous to the vanquished, than to the conquerors; for that it was observed, that, all the gold and valuable presents, as fast as he received them, he gave to the captains of the other army, quite appearing to forget us, which was not well done on his part, we having made him what he was. To this Cortes replied by protesting, that he, and all he had was entirely at our service, and he would prove it by his future conduct; but that what he did was unavoidable for our common interest, we being so few, and the others so many. Avila in answer to this used some expressions of rather a lofty kind, upon which Cortes observed, that whoever did not wish to follow him might depart, that the women in Castille had bred good soldiers, and would continue to do so. Avila answered again in a still more bold and imperious manner, and as Cortes could not at that time break with him, he was forced to dissimulate, knowing him to be a brave and determined man. He therefore pacified him with presents, for he always apprehended some act of violence on his part, and for the future took care to employ him on business of importance at a distance, as in the Island of St. Domingo, and afterwards in Old Spain.

Narvaez brought with him a Negro who was in the small pox; an unfortunate importation for that country, for the disease spread with inconceivable rapidity, and the Indians died by thousands; for not knowing the nature of it, they brought it to a fatal issue by throwing themselves into cold

water in the heat of the disorder. Thus black was the arrival of Narvaez, and blacker still the death of such multitudes of unfortunate souls, which were sent into the other world, without having an opportunity of being admitted into the bosom of our holy church. At this time a claim was made on Cortes by such of our soldiers as had been in distant garrisons, for their share of the gold taken in Mexico. He, as well as I recollect, referred them to a place in Tlascala, desiring that two persons might be sent thither to receive it. I will at a future period relate what happened hereupon; but I must at the present revert to other things.

The wheel of fortune making sudden turns, evil follows closely upon good, as was our case at present, our late successes being contrasted by melancholy news from Mexico. We now received intelligence by express from that city, whereby we were informed, that an insurrection had broken out, and that Alvarado was besieged in his quarters, which they had set on fire, having killed seven of his men, and wounded many; for which reason he earnestly called for succour and support. When we received this news, God knows how it afflicted us! We set out by long marches for Mexico, leaving Narvaez and Salvatierra prisoners in Villa Rica, under the custody of Rodorigo Rangel, who also had directions to collect all the stragglers, and to take care of the invalids, of whom there were many. At the moment we were ready to march, arrived four principal noblemen from the court of Montezuma, to lodge a formal complaint against Alvarado, for having assaulted them when dancing at a solemn festival in honor of their gods, which he had permitted them to hold, whereby, in their own defence they had been forced to kill seven of his soldiers. Cortes replied to them in terms not the most pleasing, saying he would soon be at Mexico, and put all in proper regulation; with which answer they returned, very little indeed to the satisfaction of Montezuma who felt the insult strongly, many of the natives being killed.

In consequence of this intelligence, the detachments were countermanded, and Cortes exhorted the troops of Narvaez to forget past animosities, and not to lose this opportunity of serving his Majesty and themselves, exposing to their view the riches they would acquire, so that they one and all declared their readiness to proceed to Mexico, a resolution they never would have taken, if they had known the force of that city. By very long marches we arrived at Tlascala, where we learned that until the time that Montezuma and the Mexicans got intelligence of the defeat of Narvaez, they had never ceased making attacks upon Alvarado; but when they heard of our success they desisted, leaving the Spaniards greatly fatigued and distressed, by their continual exertions and want of water and provisions. This information was conveyed by two Indian messengers who arrived at the moment we entered Tlascala. Here Cortes made an inspection of our army, which now amounted to one thousand three hundred men, nearly one hundred of whom were cavalry, and one hundred and sixty were crossbow-men and musqueteers. Two thousand warriors of the Tlascalans having joined us, we pursued our route by long marches to Tescuco, where we were very ill received, and every thing bore the appearance of disaffection.

On St. John's day in the month of June one thousand five hundred and twenty, we arrived in the City of Mexico, meeting with a reception very different from our former one, for none of the nobility or chiefs of our acquaintance could be recognised, and the city seemed to be totally depopulated. When we entered our quarters, Montezuma came to embrace Cortes, and wish him joy of his victory, but the general would neither hear, nor speak to him; whereon the King retired very melancholy, to his apartment. Cortes made inquiry into the circumstances of the commotion, which evidently was not approved or instigated by Montezuma. Indeed if he had thought fit to act against our party, they could all have been destroyed, as easily as seven of them.

By what Alvarado told Cortes it appeared, that a number of Indians, enraged at the detention of Montezuma, at the erection of the crucifix in their temple, and by the order of their gods as they said, had gone thither to pull it down, but to their infinite astonishment, found all their strength utterly unable to move it. This being represented to Montezuma, he desired no attempt of the kind should be made again. Alvarado added for his own exculpation, that the attack was made upon him by the friends and subjects of Montezuma, in order to liberate their monarch, at the time that they believed Narvaez had destroyed Cortes and his army. Cortes now asked Alvarado for what reason he fell upon the Mexicans, while they were dancing and holding a festival in honour of their gods. To this Alvarado replied, that it was in order to be beforehand with them, having had intelligence of their hostile intentions against him from two of their own nobility and a priest. Cortes then asked him if it was true that they had requested permission of him to hold their festival, and the other hereupon replied that it was so, and that it was in order to take them by surprise, and to punish and terrify them, so as to prevent their making war upon the Spaniards, that he had determined to fall on them by anticipation. At hearing this avowal Cortes was highly enraged; he censured the conduct of Alvarado in the strongest terms, and in this temper left him.

Alvarado farther said, that one time when he was attacked by the Mexicans, he endeavoured to fire off one of his guns, and could not get the priming to light; but sometime after, when they were in very great danger, and expected all to have been killed, the piece went off of itself, and made such havock amongst the enemy that they were completely driven back, and the Spaniards thus miraculously saved. I heard several other soldiers also mention this as a fact; it was also said, by Alvarado only, that when the garrison was in great want of water, they sank a pit in the court, and immediately a spring of the sweetest water broke forth. I can declare, to

my own knowledge, that there was a spring in the city which very frequently threw up water tolerably fresh. Glory to God for all his mercies!

Some say that it was avarice tempted Alvarado to make this attack, in order to pillage the Indians of the golden ornaments which they wore at their festival. I never heard any just reasons for the assertion, nor do I believe any such thing, although it is so represented by Fra Bartholome de las Casas; but for my part I am convinced, that his intention in falling on them at that time was, in order to strike terror into them, and prevent their insurrection, according to the saying, that, the first attack is half the battle. A very bad plan as appeared by the result, and it is certain, that after the affair at the temple, Montezuma did most earnestly desire that they should not attack our people, but the Mexicans were so enraged that they could not be restrained.

Cortes during our march had expatiated to the new comers upon the power and influence he possessed, and the respect with which he was treated in Mexico, and had filled their minds and heightened their expectations, with promises and golden hopes. When on his return therefore he experienced the coldness and negligence of his reception in Tezcuco, and equal appearances thereof in Mexico, he grew very peevish and irritable; and the officers of Montezuma coming to wait upon him, expressing the wish of their Sovereign to see him, Cortes angrily exclaimed, "Away with him! The dog! why does he neglect to supply us." When the captains De Leon, De Oli, and De Lugo, heard this expression, they intreated him to be moderate, and reminded him of the former kindness and generosity of the King. But this seemed to irritate Cortes the more, considering it a kind of censure, and he indignantly said, "What compliment am I under to a dog who treated secretly with Narvaez, and as we see neglects to send provisions?" This the captains admitted ought to be done; and Cortes, confident in the great reinforcement of numbers he had obtained, continued a

haughty demeanour. He in this manner now addressed the noblemen sent to him by Montezuma, bidding them tell their master, immediately to cause markets to be held and provisions supplied, and to beware of the consequences of neglect. These lords very well understood the purport of the injurious expressions which he had used, and on their return informed the King of what had passed. Whether it was from rage at the story told by them, or the consequence of a preconcerted plan to fall upon us, within a quarter of an hour after, a soldier entered our quarters, wounded dangerously, and in great hurry, and told us that the whole people were in arms. This man had been sent by Cortes to bring to our quarters some Indian ladies, and amongst them the daughter of Montezuma, whom Cortes, when he marched against Narvaez, had left in the care of their relation the Prince of Tacuba. He was on his return with them when he was attacked by the people who were assembled in great numbers, had broken a bridge upon the causeway of Tacuba, and had once had him in their hands and were hurrying him into a canoe to carry him off for sacrifice, but that he extricated himself from them, with two dangerous wounds.

Cortes immediately on receiving the intelligence ordered out a party of four hundred men, under the command of Captain de Ordaz, to go and see what foundation there was for the account given by the soldier, and to endeavor if possible to pacify the minds of the people. De Ordaz had hardly proceeded the length of half a street, when he was attacked by immense numbers of Mexicans in the streets, and on the terraces of the houses, who by their first discharge killed eight soldiers on the spot, wounded most of the rest, and De Ordaz himself in three places. Finding it therefore impossible to proceed, he retreated slowly to our quarters, in doing which he lost another good soldier named Lezcano, who with a two handed sword had performed many feats of great force and valour. Our quarters had been attacked by multitudes at the some moment; they poured in such

discharges of missile weapons upon us there that they immediately wounded upwards of forty six, twelve of whom afterwards died. The streets were so crowded, that De Ordas when he endeavored to reach us could not proceed, and was incessantly attacked in front, in rear, and from the roofs of the houses. Neither our fire arms, nor our good fighting could prevent the enemy from closing in upon us for a length of time; however De Ordaz at last forced his way back, with the loss of twenty three men. The enemy still continued their attacks, but all we had hitherto suffered was nothing to that which succeeded. They set fire to various parts of the buildings which we occupied, thinking to burn us alive, or stifle us with the smoke; and we were obliged to stop it by tearing down the building, or by throwing earth upon it. All the courts and open spaces of our quarters were covered with their arrows and missile weapons, and in repelling their attacks, repairing the breaches which they had made in the walls, dressing our wounds, and preparing for ensuing engagements, we passed that day and night.

As soon as the next morning dawned we sallied out with our whole force upon the enemy, being determined if we could not conquer, to make them fear us. The Mexicans came to meet us with their whole force, and both parties fought desperately; but as the numbers of our opponents were so immense, and as they constantly brought up fresh troops, even if we had been ten thousand Hectors of Troy, and as many Roldans, we could not have beaten them off; nor can I give any idea of the desperation of this battle; for though in every charge we made upon them we brought down thirty and even forty, it was of no avail; they came on even with more spirit than at first, nor could we, by our cannon or fire arms, make any impression on them. If at any time they appeared to give ground it was only to draw us from our quarters, in order to ensure our destruction. Then the stones and darts thrown on us from the terraces of the houses were intolerable. But I describe it faintly;

for some of our soldiers who had been in Italy swore, that neither amongst Christians nor Turks, nor the artillery of the King of France, had they ever seen such desperation as was manifested in the attacks of those Indians. We were at length forced to retreat to our quarters, which we reached with great difficulty.

On this day we lost ten or twelve soldiers, and all of us who came back were severely wounded. From the period of our return we were occupied in making preparation for a general sally on the next day but one, with four military machines constructed of very strong timber, in the form of towers, and each capable of containing twenty five men under cover, with port holes for the artillery and also for the musquetiers and crossbow-men. This work occupied us for the space of one day, except that we were obliged likewise to repair the breaches made in our walls, and resist those who attempted to scale them in twenty different places at the same time. They continued their reviling language saying, that the voracious animals of their temples had now been kept two days fasting, in order to devour us at the period which was speedily approaching, when they were to sacrifice us to their gods; that our allies were to be put up in cages to fatten, and that they would soon repossess our ill acquired treasure. At other times they plaintively called to us to give them their king, and during the night we were constantly annoyed by showers of arrows, which they accompanied with shouts and whistlings.

At day break on the ensuing morning, after recommending ourselves to God, we sallied out with our turrets, which as well as I recollect were called burros or mantas, in other places where I have seen them, with some of our musquetry and cross-bows in front, and our cavalry occasionally charging. The enemy this day shewed themselves more determined than ever, and we were equally resolved to force our way to the great temple, although it should cost the life of every man of us; we therefore advanced with our turrets

in that direction. I will not detail the desperate battle which we had with the enemy in a very strong house, nor how their arrows wounded our horses, notwithstanding their armour, and if at any time the horsemen attempted to pursue the Mexicans, the latter threw themselves into the canals, and others sallied out upon our people and massacred them with large lances.

As to setting fire to the buildings, or tearing them down, it was utterly in vain to attempt; they all stood in the water, and only communicating by draw bridges, it was too dangerous to attempt to reach them by swimming, for they showered stones from their slings, and masses of cut stone taken from the buildings, upon our heads, from the terraces of the houses. Whenever we attempted to set fire to a house, it was an entire day before it took effect, and when it did, the flames could not spread to others, as they were separated from it by the water, and also because the roofs of them were terraced.

We at length arrived at the great temple, and immediately and instantly, above four thousand Mexicans rushed up into it, without including in that number other bodies who occupied it before, and defended it against us with lances, stones, and darts. They thus prevented our ascending for some time, neither turrets, nor musquetry, nor cavalry availing, for although the latter body several times attempted to charge, the stone pavement of the courts of the temple was so smooth, that the horses could not keep their feet, and fell. From the steps of the great temple they opposed us in front, and we were attacked by such numbers on both sides, that although our guns swept off ten or fifteen of them at each discharge, and that in each attack of our infantry we killed many with our swords, their numbers were such that we could not make any effectual impression, or ascend the steps. We were then forced to abandon our turrets, which the enemy had destroyed, and with great concert, making an effort without them, we forced our way up. Here Cortes

shewed himself the man that he really was. What a desperate engagement we then had! every man of us was covered with blood, and above forty dead upon the spot. It was God's will that we should at length reach the place where we had put up the image of our Lady, but when we came there it was not to be found, and it seems that Montezuma, actuated either by fear or by devotion, had caused it to be removed. We set fire to the building, and burned a part of the temple of the gods Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatepuco. Here our Tlascalan allies served us essentially. While thus engaged, some setting the temple on fire, others fighting, above three thousand noble Mexicans with their priests were about us, and attacking us, drove us down six and even ten of the steps, while others who were in the corridores, or within side the railings and concavities of the great temple, shot such clouds of arrows at us that we could not maintain our ground, when thus attacked from every part. We therefore began our retreat, every man of us being wounded, and forty six left dead upon the spot. We were pursued with a violence and desperation which is not in my power to describe, nor in that of any one to form an idea of who did not see it. During all this time also other bodies of the Mexicans had been continually attacking our quarters, and endeavoring to set fire to them. In this battle, we made prisoners two of the principal priests. I have often seen this engagement represented in the paintings of the natives, both of Mexico and Tlascala, and our ascent into the great temple. In these our party is represented with many dead, and all wounded. The setting fire to the temple when so many warriors were defending it in the corridores, railings, and concavities, and other bodies of them on the plain ground, and filling the courts, and on the sides, and our turrets demolished, is considered by them as a most heroic action.

With great difficulty we reached our quarters, which we found the enemy almost in possession of, as they had beaten down a part of the walls; but they desisted in a great measure

from their attacks on our arrival, still throwing in upon us however showers of arrows, darts, and stones. The night was employed by us in repairing the breaches, in dressing our wounds, burying our dead, and consulting upon our future measures. No gleam of hope could be now rationally formed by us, and we were utterly sunk in despair. Those who had come with Narvaez showered maledictions upon Cortes, nor did they forget Velasquez by whom they had been induced to quit their comfortable and peaceable habitations in the island of Cuba. It was determined to try if we could not procure from the enemy a cessation of hostilities, on condition of our quitting the city; but at day break they assembled round our quarters and attacked them with greater fury than ever, nor could our fire arms repel them, although they did considerable execution.

Cortes perceiving how desperate our situation was, determined that Montezuma should address his subjects from a terrace, and desire them to desist from their attacks, with an offer from us to evacuate Mexico. He accordingly sent to the King to desire him to do so. When this was made known to Montezuma, he burst out into violent expressions of grief saying, "What does he want of me now? I neither desire to hear him, nor to live any longer, since my unhappy fate has reduced me to this situation on his account." He therefore dismissed those sent to him with a refusal, adding as it is said, that he wished not to be troubled any more with the false words and promises of Cortes. Upon this the Reverend Father Fray Bartholome and Christoval de Oli went to him, and addressed him with the most affectionate and persuasive language, to induce him to appear, to which he replied, that he did not believe that his doing so would be of any avail, that the people had already elected another sovereign, and were determined never to permit one of us to quit the city alive. The enemy continued their attacks, and Montezuma was at length persuaded. He accordingly came, and stood at the railing of a terraced roof, attended by many

HERNANDO CORTES, FROM AN OLD DUTCH ENGRAVING.

of our soldiers, and addressed the people below him, requesting, in very affectionate language, a cessation of hostilities, in order that we might quit the city. The chiefs and nobility, as soon as they perceived him coming forward, called to their troops to desist and be silent, and four of them approached, so as to be heard and spoken to by Montezuma. They then addressed him, lamenting the misfortunes of him, his children, and family, and also told him that they had raised Coadlavaca Prince of Iztapalapa to the throne, adding, that the war was drawing to a conclusion, and that they had promised to their gods never to desist but with the total destruction of the Spaniards; that they every day offered up prayers for his personal safely, and as soon as they had rescued him out of our hands, they would venerate him as before, and trusted that he would pardon them.

As they concluded their address, a shower of arrows and stones fell about the spot where Montezuma stood, from which the Spaniards, interposing their bucklers, protected the King; but expecting that while speaking to his people they would not make another attack, they unguarded him for an instant, and just then three stones and an arrow struck him in the head, arm, and leg.

The King when thus wounded refused all assistance, and we were unexpectedly informed of his death. Cortes and our captains wept for him, and he was lamented by them and all the soldiers who had known him, as if he had been their father; nor is it to be wondered at, considering how good he was. It was said that he had reigned seventeen years, and that he was the best King Mexico had ever been governed by. It was also said that he had fought and conquered in three occasions that he had been defied to the field, in the progress of subjugating different states to his dominion.

All the endeavors of our Reverend Father Fray Bartholome, could not prevail on the King to embrace our faith, when he was told that his wounds were mortal, nor could he be induced to have them attended to. After the death

of Montezuma, Cortes sent two prisoners, a nobleman and a priest, to inform the new sovereign, Coadlavaca, and his chiefs, of the event, and how it had happened by the hands of his own subjects. He directed them to express our grief on the occasion, and our wish that he should be interred with the respect due to so great a monarch. Cortes farther signified to them, that he did not admit or acknowledge the right of the sovereign that they had chosen, but that the throne should be filled either by a son of the great Montezuma, or his cousin who was with us in our quarters. Also, that we desired unmolested egress from the city, on condition of our committing no more acts of hostility by fire or sword. Cortes then caused the body of the King to be borne out by six noblemen, attended by most of the priests, whom we had taken prisoners, and exposed it to public view. He also desired them to obey the last injunctions of Montezuma, and to deliver his body to the Mexican chiefs. These noblemen accordingly related the circumstances of the King's death to Coadlavaca, and we could hear the exclamations of sorrow which the people expressed at the sight of his body. They now attacked us in our quarters with the greatest violence, and threatened us that within the space of two days we should pay with our lives the death of their king, and the dishonor of their gods, saying that they had chosen a sovereign whom we could not deceive, as we had done the good Montezuma.

In consequence of the situation to which we were reduced, Cortes determined to make on the ensuing day another sally, and to march towards that part of the city which contained many houses built on the firm ground, there to do all the injury we could, and that our cavalry taking advantage of the causeway, should ride the enemy down; which he hoped would make them tired of hostility, and induce them to come into terms. We accordingly made our sally, and proceeded to that part of the city, where, notwithstanding the resistance

and incessant attacks of the enemy, we burned about twenty houses, approaching very near the firm ground; but whatever injury we did them was dearly paid for by the loss of twenty soldiers killed, nor could we get possession of a single bridge, all of them being partly broken, and the enemy had also made barricades and parapets to obstruct the cavalry, in every part where they expected to be able to act. Thus our difficulties and troubles increased upon us. This sally I recollect took place on a thursday; Sandoval and many other good cavalry men were present at it; but those of Narvaez not being used to service, were timorous in comparison to our veterans.

As our numbers diminished every day, whilst those of the enemy increased, as also did the fury of their attacks, at the same time that we from our wounds were less able to make resistance; our powder being almost exhausted, our provisions and water intercepted, our friend the good Montezuma dead, and our proposals for peace rejected, the bridges by which we were to retreat broken down, and in fine, death before our eyes in every direction, it was determined by Cortes and all of the officers and soldiers, to quit the city during the night, as we hoped at that time to find the enemy less alert. In order to put them the more off their guard, we sent a message by a chief priest, informing them, that if we were permitted to quit the city unmolested within the space of eight days, we would surrender all the gold which was in our possession.

There was with us a soldier named Botello, of respectable demeanour, who spoke latin, had been at Rome, and was said to be a necromancer; some said he had a familiar, and others called him an astrologer. This Botello had discovered by his figures and astrologies, and had predicted four days before, that if we did not quit Mexico on this night, not one of us should ever go out of it alive. He had also foretold that Cortes should undergo great revolutions of fortune, be

deprived of his property, and honours, and afterwards rise to a greater state than ever; with many other things of this kind.

Orders were now given to make a portable bridge of very strong timber, to be thrown over the canals where the enemy had broken down the bridges, and for conveying, guarding, and placing this, were assigned, one hundred and fifty of our soldiers and four hundred of the allies. The advanced guard was composed of Sandoval, Azevido el Pulido, F. de Lugo, D. de Ordas, A. de Tapia, and eight more captains of those who came with Narvaez, having under them one hundred picked soldiers, of the youngest and most active. The rear guard was composed of one hundred soldiers, mostly those of Narvaez, and many cavalry, under the command of Alvarado and Velasquez de Leon. The prisoners, with Donna Marina and Donna Luisa, were put under the care of thirty soldiers and three hundred Tlascalans; and Cortes, with A. de Avila, C. de Oli, Bernardino Vasquez de Tapia and other officers, with fifty soldiers, composed a reserve, to act wherever occasion should require.

By the time that all this was arranged night drew on. Cortes then ordered all the gold which was in his apartment to be brought to the great saloon, which being done, he desired the officers of his Majesty, A. de Avila and Gonzalo Mexia, to take his Majesty's due, in their charge, assigning to them for the conveyance of it eight lame or wounded horses, and upwards of eighty Tlascalans. Upon these were loaded as much as they could carry of the gold which had been run into large bars, and much more remained heaped up in the saloon. Cortes then called to his secretary Hernandez and other royal notaries and said, "Bear witness that I can be no longer responsible for this gold; here is to the value of above six hundred thousand crowns, I can secure no more than what is already packed; let every soldier take what he will, better so than that it should remain for those dogs of Mexicans." As soon as he had said this, many sol-

diers of those of Narvaez, and also some of ours fell to work, and loaded themselves with treasure. I never was avaricious, and now thought more of saving my life which was in much danger; however when the opportunity thus offered, I did not omit seizing out of a casket, four calchihuis, those precious stones so highly esteemed amongst the Indians; and although Cortes ordered the casket and its contents to be taken care of by his major domo, I luckily secured these jewels in time, and afterwards found them of infinite advantage as a resource against famine.

A little before midnight the detachment which took charge of the portable bridge set out upon its march, and arriving at the first canal or aperture of water, it was thrown across. The night was dark and misty, and it began to rain. The bridge being fixed, the baggage, artillery, and some of the cavalry passed over it, as also the Tlascalans with the gold. Sandoval and those with him passed, also Cortes and his party after the first, and many other soldiers. At this moment the trumpets and shouts of the enemy were heard, and the alarm was given by them, crying out, "Taltelulco, Taltelulco, out with your canoes! the Teules are going, attack them at the bridges." In an instant the enemy were upon us by land, and the lake and canals were covered with canoes. They immediately flew to the bridges, and fell on us there, so that they intirely intercepted our line of march. As misfortunes do not come single, it also rained so heavily that some of the horses were terrifyed, and growing restive fell into the water, and the bridge was broken in at the same time. The enemy attacked us here now with redoubled fury, and our soldiers making a stout resistance, the aperture of water was soon filled with the dead and dying men, and horses, and those who were struggling to escape, all heaped together, with artillery, packs, and bales of baggage, and those who carried them. Many were drowned here, and many put into the canoes and carried off for sacrifice. It was dreadful to hear the cries of the unfortunate sufferers, call-

ing for assistance and invoking the Holy Virgin or St. Jago, while others who escaped by swimming, or by clambering upon the chests, bales of baggage, and dead bodies, earnestly begged for help to get up to the causeway. Many who on their reaching the ground thought themselves safe, were there seized or knocked in the head with clubs.

Away went whatever regularity had been in the march at first; for Cortes and the captains and soldiers who were mounted clapt spurs to their horses and gallopped off, along the causeway; nor can I blame them, for the cavalry could do nothing against the enemy, of any effect; for when they attacked them, the latter threw themselves into the water on each side the causeway, and others from the houses with arrows, or on the ground with large lances, killed the horses. It is evident we could make no battle with them in the water, and without powder, and in the night, what else could we do than what we did; which was, to join in bodies of thirty or forty soldiers, and when the Indians closed upon us, to drive them off with a few cuts and thrusts of our swords, and then hurry on, to get over the causeway as soon as we could. As to waiting for one another, that would have lost us all; and had it happened in the day time, things would have been even worse with us. The escape of such as were fortunate enough to effect it, was owing to God's mercy, who gave us force to do so; for the very sight of the number of the enemy who surrounded us, and carried off our companions in their canoes to sacrifice, was terrible. About fifty of us, soldiers of Cortes, and some of those of Narvaez, went together in a body, by the causeway; every now and then parties of Indians came up, calling us Luilones, a term of reproach, and attempting to seize us, and we, when they came within our reach, facing about, repelling them with a few thrusts of our swords, and then hurrying on. Thus we proceeded, until we reached the firm ground near Tacuba, where Cortes, Sandoval, De Oli, Salcedo, Dominguez, Lares, and others of the cavalry, with such of the infantry soldiers as had crossed

the bridge before it was destroyed, were already arrived. When we came near them, we heard the voices of Sandoval, De Oli, and De Morla, calling to Cortes who was riding at their head, that he should turn about, and assist those who were coming along the causeway, and who complained that he had abandoned them. Cortes replied that those who had escaped owed it to a miracle, and if they returned to the bridges all would lose their lives. Notwithstanding, he, with ten or twelve of the cavalry and some of the infantry who had escaped unhurt countermarched, and proceeded along the causeway; they had gone however but a very short distance when they met P. de Alvarado with his lance in his hand, badly wounded, and on foot, for his chesnut mare had been killed; he had with him three of our soldiers, and four of those of Narvaez, all badly wounded, and eight Tlascalans covered with blood. While Cortes proceeded along the causeway, we reposed in the enclosed courts hard by Tacuba. Messengers had already been sent out from the city of Mexico, to call the people of Tacuba, Ezcapuzalco, and Teneyuca together, in order to intercept us. In consequence they now began to surround and harass us with arrows, and stones, and to attack us with lances headed with the swords which had fallen into their hands on the preceding night. We made some attacks upon them, and defended ourselves as well as we could.

To revert to Cortes and his companions, when they learned from Alvarado that they were not to expect to see any more of our soldiers, the tears ran from their eyes, for Alvarado had with him in the rear guard, Velasquez de Leon, with above twenty more of the cavalry, and upwards of one hundred infantry. On enquiry Cortes was told that they were all dead, to the number of one hundred and fifty and more. Alvarado also told them that after the horses had been killed, about eighty assembled in a body and passed the first aperture, upon the dead bodies and heaps of luggage; I do not perfectly recollect if he said that he passed

upon the dead bodies, for we were more attentive to what he related to Cortes of the deaths of J. Velasquez and above two hundred more companions, those of Narvaez included, who were with him, and who were killed at that canal. He also said that at the other bridge God's mercy saved them, and that the whole of the causeway was full of the enemy.

As to that fatal bridge which is called the leap of Alvarado, I say that no soldier thought of looking whether he leaped, much or little, for we had enough to do to save our own lives. It must however have been as he stated when he met Cortes, that he passed it upon the dead bodies and baggage, for if he had attempted to sustain himself upon his lance, the water would have been too deep for him to have reached the bottom of it; and the aperture was too wide, and the sides too high for him to have leaped, let him have been ever so active. For my part I aver that he could not have leaped it in any manner, for in about a year after, when we invested Mexico, I was engaged with the enemy on that which is now called the bridge of the leap of Alvarado, for they had there made breastworks and barricades; and we many times conversed upon the subject at the spot, and all of us agreed that it could not have happened. But as some will insist upon the reality of it I repeat it again, it could not have been done, and let those who wish to ascertain it view the place; the bridge is there, and the depth of the water will prove no lance could reach to the bottom. There was in Mexico afterwards one Ocampo, a soldier who came with Garay, a prating fellow and very scurrilous, amusing himself with making defamatory libels. Many of those he made upon our captains, too bad to be repeated. He said of Alvarado, that he left his companion Velasquez and two hundred more, and that fear made him give that great spring, for that as the saying goes, he leaped for his life.

As our captains found from the information of Alvarado that they were not to expect any more of our companions, for that the causeway was full of warriors of the enemy, and

if any had hitherto escaped they must now be intercepted, as we also found that all the people of those countries were preparing to attack us in Tacuba, it was determined under the guidance of six or seven of our allies well acquainted with the country, to endeavor to reach Tlascala. Accordingly we set out, and proceeding by an indirect road came to some houses hard by a temple on a hill. During our march we were harrassed by the enemy, who threw stones and shot their arrows at us. I fear to tire the reader with the prolixity of those repeated details, but I am compelled to relate what was of such desperate consequence to us, for many of us were in this manner killed. Here we defended ourselves, and took what care we could of our wounds. As to provisions, we had none.

After the conquest of Mexico, a church was founded on the scite of this temple, and dedicated to Nuestra Senora de los Remedios, and thither many ladies and inhabitants of Mexico go in procession, and to pay the nine days devotions.

Our wounds, having taken cold and being only bound with rags, were now in a miserable situation, and very painful; we had also to deplore the loss of many valiant companions. As for those of Narvaez, most of them perished in the water, loaded with gold. Numbers of Tlascalans also lost their lives in the same manner. Poor Botello too! the astrologer! his stars bore an evil aspect for he was killed with the rest. The sons of Montezuma, Cacamatzin, and all the other prisoners, amongst whom were some princes, lost their lives on this fatal night. All our artillery was lost, we had very few cross-bows, only twenty three horses, and our future prospect was very melancholy, from our uncertainty as to the reception we might meet in Tlascala, which was our only resource.

Having dressed our wounds and made arrows for our cross-bows, and being incessantly harrassed in our present post, we proceeded at midnight upon our journey, under the guidance of our faithful Tlascalans. Those who were

very badly wounded we carried between us; the lame were supported upon crutches, and some who were utterly unable to help themselves on, were placed upon the croups of lame horses. Thus, with what cavalry we had able to act, in front and on the flanks, and as many of the infantry as were fit to bear arms making head to the enemy, we proceeded on our march, our wounded Spaniards and allies in the centre, the rest opposing the enemy, who continued to follow, harrass, and revile us, saying we were now going to meet our destruction. Words which we did not at that time understand.

I have hitherto forgotten to mention the satisfaction we had, in seeing Donna Marina and Donna Luisa rejoin us. Having crossed the bridge amongst the first, they had been saved by the exertions of two of the brothers of Donna Luisa, all the rest of the female Indians having been lost there. On this day we arrived at a great town named Gualtitlan, from whence we continued our march, harrassed by the enemy, whose numbers and boldness increased, insomuch that they killed two of our lame soldiers and one horse in a bad pass, wounding many more. Having repulsed them, we proceeded until we arrived at some villages, and halting there for the night, we made our supper on the horse which had been killed. On the next morning we set out very early, and having proceeded little more than a league, just as we began to think ourselves in safety, three of our vedettes came in with a report that the whole plains were covered with the armies of the enemy. This intelligence was truly frightful and we felt it as such, but not so as to prevent our determination to conquer or die, or our arranging all matters to the best effect for action.

A halt being made, orders were given to the cavalry, that they should charge at half speed, not stopping to make thrusts, but pointing the lances at the faces of the enemy, until they were put to flight; the infantry were warned to thrust with their swords, and to pass them clear through the

bodies of their opponents, so that at worst we should sell ourselves dearly, and this being done, as we saw that the enemy began to surround us, after recommending ourselves to God and the Holy Virgin, and invoking the aid of St. Jago, the cavalry formed in bodies of fives, and the infantry in concert with them, proceeded to the attack.

Oh what it was to see this tremendous battle! how we closed foot to foot, and with what fury the dogs fought us! such wounding as there was amongst us with their lances and clubs and two handed swords, while our cavalry, favoured by the plain ground, rode through them at will, galloping at half speed, and bearing down their opponents with couched lances, still fighting manfully, though they and their horses were all wounded; and we of the infantry, negligent of our former hurts, and of those which we now received, closed with the enemy, redoubling our efforts to bear them down with our swords.

Cortes, De Oli, Alvarado mounted on a horse of one of the soldiers of Narvaez, and Sandoval, though all wounded, continued to ride through them. Cortes now called out to us to strike at the chiefs; for they were distinguished by great plumes of feathers, golden ornaments, richly wrought arms, and devices.

Then to hear the valiant Sandoval, how he encouraged us crying out, "Now gentlemen is the day of victory; put your trust in God, we shall survive for he preserves us for some good purpose." All the soldiers felt determined to conquer, and thus animated as we were by our Lord Jesus Christ, and our lady the Virgin Mary, as also by St. Jago who undoubtedly assisted us, as certified by a chief of Guatimotzin who was present in the battle, we continued, notwithstanding many had received wounds and some of our companions were killed, to maintain our ground.

It was the will of God, that Cortes, accompanied by the captains De Oli, Sandoval, Alvarado, and several others, should reach that part of the army of the enemy which was

the post of their general in chief, who was distinguished by a standard, arms covered with gold, and a great penache ornamented in the same manner. As soon as Cortes perceived the chief who bore the standard, and who was surrounded by many others bearing also great penaches of gold, he cried out to Alvarado, Sandoval, De Oli, Avila, and the rest, "Now gentlemen, let us charge them." Then, recommending themselves to God, they rode into the thickest of them, and Cortes with his horse struck the Mexican chief, and threw down the standard; the cavaliers who supported him at the same moment effectually breaking this numerous body. The chief who bore the standard, not having fallen, in the charge made upon him by Cortes, Juan de Salamanca, mounted on his good pyed mare, pursued him, and having killed him, seized the rich penache which he bore, and presented it to Cortes, saying, that as he had given the Mexican general the first blow, and struck down his standard, the trophy of the conquest was due to him.

It was God's will, that, on the death of their general, and of many other chiefs who surrounded him being known, the enemy should relax in their efforts, and begin to retreat. As soon as this was perceived by us, we forgot our hunger, thirst, fatigue, and wounds, and thought of nothing but victory, and pursuit. Our cavalry followed them up close, and our allies, now become lions, mowed down all before them with the arms which the enemy threw away in their flight.

As soon as our cavalry returned from the pursuit, we all gave thanks to God, for never had there appeared so great a force together in that country, being the whole of the warriors of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Saltocan, all determined not to leave a trace of us upon the earth. The whole nobility of these nations were assembled, magnificently armed, and adorned with gold, penaches, and devices. This battle was fought near a place named Obtumba. I have frequently seen it represented in paintings amongst the Mexicans, in the same manner as I have the other battles fought by us

antecedently to the final conquest. I must now recall to the readers recollection, that our entry into Mexico to relieve Alvarado was on the day of St. John in the month of June one thousand five hundred and twenty. We entered that city with upwards of one thousand three hundred soldiers, cavalry included, which latter body was ninety seven in number, and of our infantry eighty were crossbow-men, and as many musqueteers. We had also with us a great train of artillery and two thousand Tlascalan allies. Our flight from Mexico was on the tenth of July following, and the battle of Obtumba was fought on the fourteenth day of that month.

I will now give an account of all our countrymen who lost their lives in Mexico, at the causeway, in battle, and on the road. In five days were killed and sacrificed upwards of eight hundred and seventy soldiers, including seventy two of those of Narvaez put to death together with five Castillian women, in a place named Tustepeque. One thousand two hundred and upwards of our allies of Tlascala were also killed. Juan de Alcantara and two more, who came for the share of the gold assigned to them, were robbed and murdered, and if we examine throughout we shall find, that all who were concerned with the treasure came to ill fortune. Thus it was with the soldiers of Narvaez, who perished in a much greater proportion than ours did, on account of their having followed the dictates of their avarice.

After the battle we continued our march to Tlascala, chearfully, and eating certain gourds named ayotes, which we found by the way, the enemy only shewing themselves at a distance, until we arrived at a village where we took up our quarters in a strong temple, and halted for the night, occasionally alarmed by the Mexicans, who kept about us as it were to see us out of their country. From this place we to our great joy perceived the mountains of Tlascala, for we were anxious to be convinced of the fidelity of our friends, and to know something of our companions in Villa Rica. Cortes warned us, as we were so few in number and had

escaped by God's mercy, to be cautious not to give offence; this he particularly enforced to the soldiers of Narvaez who were not so much habituated to discipline. He added that he hoped to find our allies steady to us, but that if it turned out otherwise, though but four hundred and forty strong, ill armed, and wounded, we had vigorous bodies and stout hearts to carry us through.

We now arrived at a fountain on the side of some hills, where is a circular rampart built in old times, at the boundary of the states of Mexico and Tlascala. Here we reposed, and then proceeded to a town named Gualiopar, where we procured a little food which we were obliged to pay for, and halted one day. As soon as our arrival was known in the head town of Tlascala, our friends Maxicatzin, Xicotenga, Chichimecatecle, the chief of Guaxocingo, and others, came to see and embrace Cortes and the rest of our captains and soldiers. They wept for our losses, and kindly blamed Cortes for having neglected the warning they had given him of Mexican treachery. They then invited us to their town, rejoicing at our escape, and congratulating us on our valiant actions. They also assured us that they were assembling thirty thousand warriors to join us at Obtumba. Cortes thanked, and distributed presents to all. They were rejoiced at seeing Donna Marina and Donna Luisa, and lamented the loss of others; Maxicatzin in particular bewailed his daughter, and V. de Leon to whom he had given her. Thus we were received by our friends in Tlascala, where we reposed after our dangers. Cortes lodged in the house of Maxicatzin, Alvarado in that of Xicotenga; and here we recovered from our wounds, losing but four of our number.

THE END OF PART ONE

THE TRUE HISTORY
OF THE
CONQUEST OF MEXICO

PARTS THE
SECOND AND THIRD

The True History
OF THE
Conquest of Mexico.

PART THE SECOND.

Chapter i.

Tlascala, July, 1520. Transactions and occurrences there. Foundation of the colony of Segura de la Frontera. Subjugation of the neighbouring districts by the Spaniards.

We were thus, as I have mentioned, by the friendship of the Tlascalans, hospitably received and entertained in their city, after our fatigues, dangers, and losses, in the retreat from Mexico.

One of the first things done by Cortes on our arrival was, to enquire after the gold which had been brought there, to the value of forty thousand crowns, and which was the share of the garrison of Villa Rica. He was informed by the Tlascalan chiefs, and also by one of our invalids who remained there when we marched to Mexico, that the persons who had been sent from Villa Rica to receive it, had, on their return, been robbed and murdered on the road, at the time we were engaged in hostilities with the Mexicans. Another cause of uneasiness to us was, our uncertainty as to the situation of our countrymen at Villa Rica. Letters were sent, to inform them of the events which had lately taken place, and desiring them to send us what arms and ammunition they could spare, and a strong reinforcement. We were informed by the return of the messengers, that all continued well in

the neighbourhood of that garrison. The reinforcement also, which had been required, was immediately sent. It consisted of seven men in the whole, three of whom were sailors, and every one of them invalids. They were commanded by a soldier named Lencero, the same who kept the inn at present called by his name. For a long time afterwards, a reinforcement of Lencero, was a proverbial expression with us.

We had now some trouble given us by the younger Xicotenga. This chief on hearing of our misfortunes in Mexico, and of our being in march for his country, conceived the project of taking us by surprise, and putting us all to death; for which purpose he was very active in forming his party, and having assembled many of his friends, relations, and adherents, he exposed to them the facility with which it could be done. These intrigues however could not go on long, without coming to the knowledge of his father, who reproached him severely for his treacherous conduct, assuring him that if it came to be known, it would cost the lives of him and all those concerned with him. The young man however persevered, paying no regard to what his father said, and the affair at length coming to the ears of his mortal enemy Chichimecatecle, he immediately gave information of it; whereupon, a council was summoned of all the chiefs to take the affair into consideration, and Xicotenga was brought prisoner before them. Maxicatzin was the orator upon the occasion and spoke at considerable length in favour of the Spaniards; he said that prosperity had attended their nation ever since our arrival amongst them. That we had enabled them to eat salt with their provisions, and that we were certainly those of whom their ancestors had spoken. He then reprobated and exposed the conduct of the younger Xicotenga. In reply to this, and to the discourse of his father to the same purpose, the young man made use of such outrageous and disrespectful language, as induced them to seize him by the collar, and throw him down the steps of the build-

ing into the street, and he very narrowly escaped with his life; but Cortes did not think it prudent in his present situation to carry matters any farther. Such was the fidelity of our Tlascalan allies, with whom we at this time staid two and twenty days.

Cortes meditated an attack upon the adjoining provinces of Tepeaca and Zacatula, on account of the murders committed by these people upon the Spaniards, and determined to set out upon it, at the expiration of the above mentioned period; but when he came to propose this to his troops, he found the universal sentiment of the soldiers of Narvaez decidedly against it. They thought that they never could get back soon enough to their houses and mines in the Island of Cuba, and the slaughter of Mexico, and battle of Obtumba, made them desire to renounce all connexion with Cortes, his riches, and his conquests. But beyond all others Andres de Duero, his friend and companion, most heartily cursed the day he had embarked with him in the business, and the gold which he had been forced to leave in the ditches of Mexico. They all totally declined any connexion with his new schemes, and finding that words did not avail them they made a requisition in form to that effect, stating the insufficiency of our force, and demanding licences to return to Cuba. Cortes having received and read the memorial, replied to it, giving at least ten reasons for his plan, to every one they alledged against it; his own soldiers also addressed him on the occasion, requesting him on no account to give permission to any one to depart, but that we should all remain together, as being most conducive to the service of God, and his Majesty. At length they were obliged to acquiesce, with a very ill grace, and much murmuring against Cortes, and his expeditions, and against us who supported him in them, and who as they said had nothing to lose but our lives. Cortes on his part made them a general promise, that by the next convenient opportunity he would send them to their Island of Cuba.

The historian Gomara in his account of this transaction

makes no distinction between us and the soldiers of Narvaez, as if we were equally concerned in presenting the memorial; and this he does in order to enhance the merits of his hero, Cortes, and to depreciate us the true conquerors of Mexico, because we did not think it became us to bribe him with gifts to speak favourably of us, when we were those, and those only, who supported Cortes. And now this historian would annihilate our reputations, in saying, forsooth, that we memorialled!!

It would have better become this historian to attend more to matters of fact, and less to his figures of rhetoric in what he writes. I have been astonished at that part of his relation, where he assigns the victory at Obtumba solely to the valor of Cortes. I have said before, that it was in the first instance owing to God's mercy; I say also that Cortes did every thing that ought to be expected from a wise and valiant general, and that he owed his success, under God, to the stout and valiant captains, and to us brave soldiers, who broke the force of the enemy, and supported him by fighting in the manner we fought, and as I have related. What that historian says relative to his charging the general and bearer of the royal standard of Mexico is true, and it was Juan de Salamanca, afterwards alcalde major of Guacacualco, who killed him with his lance, and presented the ornamented plume to Cortes; which plume his Majesty was afterwards pleased to give Salamanca in his coat of arms. Not that I am unwilling to ascribe all due honour to our Cortes; for I know that he deserves it; and if it was the custom, as formerly, to give triumphs to generals, he is more worthy of one than any Roman. Gomara also greatly exaggerates the numbers of our Indian allies, and the population of the country beyond all reason; for it was not the fifth part of what he represents it. According to his account there would have been more thousands here, than inhabit all Castille; but where he has written eighty thousand we should read one thousand. All this he has done in order to make his narra-

tive the more agreable. In my history I tell the truth, word for word as it happened, without looking to ornaments of rhetoric; for I consider myself obliged to adhere to matter of fact, and do not deal in flatteries.

We now set out on our march, to punish the districts of Cachula, Tepeaca, and Tecamachalco, without artillery or fire arms of any kind, for all had been left in the ditches of Mexico. Our force consisted of sixteen cavalry and four hundred and twenty infantry, mostly armed with sword and target, with about four thousand Tlascalans. We halted at night, at the distance of three leagues from Tepeaca; but the people of the place had deserted their houses on our approach. We made some prisoners on our way, by whom Cortes sent to the chiefs, to inform them, that we came for the purpose of obtaining justice for the murder of eighteen Spaniards, who had been without any cause put to death in crossing their territories; and also to know the reason of their entertaining Mexican troops, and to warn them, that if they did not immediately treat with us for peace, we would make war against them with fire and sword. However terrible our language was, that of their answer conveyed by our messengers and two Mexicans, was much more so; for the Mexicans were elevated by their successes against us at the bridges. Cortes treated them very kindly, and declared every wish to forget and forgive the past, but all could not do; they sent back for answer, that if we did not return immediately, they would put us all to death and make a feast upon our bodies.

Upon this Cortes called a council of the officers, and it was then determined, that a full statement of all which had passed should be officially drawn up by a royal notary, whereby all the Mexicans and allies of the Mexicans who had killed Spanish subjects, after having given obedience to his Majesty, should be declared in a state of slavery. This being duly drawn up and attested, we once more sent to require them to come in, giving them notice of the consequences of their contumacy, but they returned an answer similar to their

former one. Both sides then prepared for battle, and on the next day we came to an action with them. This battle taking place in open fields of maize, our cavalry speedily put the enemy to flight, with considerable loss, though they made a stout resistance; but our allies fought gallantly, and pursued them hotly, and we took many boys, for slaves.

The Mexicans being thus defeated, the natives came in, to sue for peace; we accordingly proceeded to the town of Tepeaca, to receive their submission, and on that spot was founded our settlement of Segura de la Frontera, the situation being eligible, as on the road to Villa Rica, and in a fertile district. The municipal officers were immediately appointed, and the iron brand was made here, for the purpose of marking those natives who were taken for slaves; they were marked with the letter G, for "Guerra," or war. We made excursions through the district, and to the towns of Cachula, (where they had put fifteen Spaniards to death in the houses,) Tecamechalco, Las Guayavas, and many others whose names I do not recollect; taking a number of prisoners, who were immediately branded for slaves. By these means, in about the space of six weeks, we reduced the people to order and obedience.

At this period another prince of the blood royal was elected to the throne of Mexico, for the former one who had expelled us from that city, was dead of the small pox. The new king was named Guatimotzin; he was a young man about the age of twenty five years, of elegant appearance, very brave, and so terrible to his own subjects that they all trembled at the sight of him. When the intelligence reached this prince of what had happened in Tepeaca, he began to be apprehensive for his other provinces, neglecting, however, nothing that it was in his power to do, to induce the chiefs to continue steady to him; and he also sent considerable bodies of troops to watch our movements.

Cortes now received letters from Villa Rica informing him, that a vessel had arrived at the port, commanded by a

gentleman named Pedro Barba, who was his intimate friend. He had been lieutenant under Velasquez at the Havannah, and had now brought with him thirteen soldiers and two horses; he also brought letters from Velasquez the governor of Cuba to Narvaez, who was thought to be by this time all powerful in New Spain, ordering him, if Cortes was not already dead, to send him to Cuba, that he might be thence transmitted to Castille, such being the directions of the bishop of Burgos. As soon as Pedro Barba arrived in the harbour, the officer whom Cortes had appointed admiral went to visit him, taking with him in his boat a strong crew, with their arms concealed. When he came on board, he saluted Barba and the rest courteously, and enquired after the health of the governor of Cuba. The others in their turn enquired after Narvaez, and what had become of Cortes. They were told that Cortes was a fugitive with about twenty of his companions, and that Narvaez had established himself, and was in possession of great riches. They then invited Barba and the rest on shore to refresh themselves, to which they assenting descended into the boats, where they were bid to surrender themselves instantly prisoners to Cortes. They had no alternative, and were obliged to submit. The ship was dismantled, and the captain and crew sent to us in Tepeaca, to our great satisfaction, for though we did not suffer much in the field, yet continual fatigue had made us very unhealthy, five of our soldiers having died of pleurisies within a fortnight. With this party came Francisco Lopez, afterwards regidor of Guatimala. Barba was exceedingly well received by Cortes, who was informed by him that he might expect the arrival of another small vessel with provisions, within the space of a week, which accordingly happened. On board the last mentioned ship came a gentleman, native of Medina del Campo, by name Rodorigo de Lobera, eight soldiers, and one horse. Our friends pursued the same method with this vessel that they had done with the former, and with the same success. The party joined us in a few days, it

being no small satisfaction to us, thus to find our army recruiting its numbers.

The new king of Mexico having sent large bodies of troops to these provinces that were nearest to the Spanish army, they became very disorderly, robbing and outraging the people. These provocations induced the natives to send four chiefs secretly to negotiate with Cortes, offering to surrender themselves to him, provided he would give them his assistance to expell the Mexicans. Cortes immediately acceded to the proposal, and ordered for this service the whole of the cavalry and crossbow-men, under the command of Christoval de Oli. A considerable number also of Tlascalans were joined in the expedition. Several of the captains who had come with Narvaez were appointed to command in this detachment, which amounted in the whole to above three hundred soldiers. As our people were on their march, conversing with the Indians, they received such accounts from them of the force of the enemy, as entirely deprived the soldiers of Narvaez of what little inclination they ever had for military expeditions, and made them doubly anxious to return to their Island of Cuba, being utterly averse from a repetition of the days of Mexico, and Obtumba. They began to grow very mutinous, and told their chief in plain terms, that if he was determined to persist in his attempt, he might do it by himself, for that they were all resolved to quit him. De Oli remonstrated with them upon the impropriety of such conduct, in which he was supported by all the soldiers of Cortes, but in vain; he was compelled to yield to their perverseness, and halt at Cholula, from whence he wrote to Cortes, informing him of his situation. When Cortes received his letter, he immediately returned an angry message, ordering him positively to advance with his whole force, at all events. When De Oli received this, he fell in a violent rage with those who had brought that reprimand on him, and ordering the whole to march immediately, de-

clared he would send back any one who hesitated to Cortes, to be treated by him as a coward deserved.

When he arrived within a league of Guacacualco, he was met by some chiefs, who informed him in what manner he might best come upon the enemy. Having in consequence settled his plan of attack, he marched against, and after a sharp action defeated the Mexican troops, and put them completely to flight, with the loss on his part, of two horses, and eight wounded. Our allies this day made a great slaughter of the Mexicans, who fell back, and rallied at a large town called Ozucar, where were other great bodies of their troops. Here they made a post, fortifying themselves and breaking down the bridges; but De Oli, turned into a tiger by the reproof of Cortes, pursued them without halting, with as many of his troops as he could bring up. By the assistance of his Indian friends of Guacachula, he contrived to pass the river, and falling on the Mexicans, dispersed them again, with the loss of two more horses killed; his own horse was also wounded in several places, and De Oli himself received two wounds. Here he halted for two days after the action, and all the principal people waited on him, to submit as vassals to his Majesty. Their allegiance being accepted, and the country restored to peace, he returned with his force to the town of Segura de la Frontera.

Not having been on this expedition, the account I have given is such as was related to me, by those who were. De Oli was received by Cortes and all of us with great satisfaction; we laughed heartily at him for his counter march, in which he joined with us, and swore that for the next expedition he was sent on, he would take the poor soldiers of Cortes, and not the rich planters of Narvaez, whose minds were more intent upon their houses and estates, than upon feats of arms; and who were much more ready to command, than to obey. Gomara says that it was the people of Guaxocingo who gave the information to the officers of Narvaez; but this

is absurd, for the last mentioned town was entirely out of their route, and it is exactly the same thing as saying, that if we were to set out now from Medina del Campo to travel to Salamanca, we should go round by Valladolid.

While we were here, Cortes received letters from Villa Rica, whereby he was informed, that a vessel had arrived there commanded by a person of the name of Camargo, having on board upwards of seventy soldiers, all very sickly. She was one of these which had been sent to establish a colony at Panuco,[1] and brought intelligence that the other captain who had been sent thither, named Pineda, with all his soldiers, had been put to death by the Indians; and that their shipping had been burned. Camargo therefore finding the ill success of that attempt, had come to Villa Rica for assistance, his men being afflicted with liver complaints, which their yellow and dropsical appearance demonstrated. This officer was very well acquainted with the situation of affairs, and had been it is said, a Dominican friar. Having disembarked his soldiers, he set out with them, and arrived by slow marches at La Frontera, where they were kindly received by Cortes, and attended with as much care as we could bestow upon them, but the captain and many of the soldiers very soon died. On account of their morbid colour and swollen bodies, we used to call them "the green paunches." In order to avoid the interference of foreign matters with the thread of my narrative, I will now inform my reader, that one after another, at different and irregular periods, all the remains of this armament arrived at the port of Villa Rica. Amongst others was an Arragonian named Miguel diaz de Auz. He brought upwards of fifty soldiers, with seven horses; with which he immediately joined us, being the most effectual reinforcement we had for a long time received. This Captain de Auz served very well during the war in New Spain; it was he who afterwards had a law suit with a brother in law of Cortes, named Andres de Barrios, whom we used to call "the

[1] By F. de Garay governor of Jamaica.

dancer." The law suit was about the division of Mestitan, which was awarded afterwards as follows; he had the surplus of the rents, beyond two thousand five hundred crowns, on condition of not entering upon the district for the space of two years, because he was accused of having killed Indians there, and in other places where he had been. Another of Garay's vessels arrived shortly after at our port. In this came an officer named Ramirez, called by us, "the old." He brought with him forty soldiers, ten horses, cross-bows and other arms. Thus Garay continually sent us reinforcements, thinking that his colony was going on well in Panuco. All these soldiers joined us at Tepeaca. Those who came with Miguel diaz de Auz, as they were plump and in good condition, we named "the Sir loins;" and as the soldiers of old Ramirez wore cotton armour which was very thick and clumsy, so that no arrow could penetrate through it, we called them "the pack-horses."

Cortes having been thus reinforced to the amount of an hundred and fifty soldiers and twenty horses, determined to punish the Cacatame and Xalacingo Indians, with several others who had been concerned in the murders of Spaniards. Twenty cavalry and twelve crossbow-men, made part of the force sent against them, the whole of which consisted of two hundred of the veterans of the army of Cortes, and a body of Tlascalans, commanded by Gonzalo de Sandoval. Our detachment received intelligence that the enemy were in arms, fortified, and reinforced by Mexican troops. Sandoval therefore arranged his plan of attack, first sending to inform them, that he would pardon the deaths of the Spaniards, provided they submitted, and returned the treasure. The answer they sent back was, that they would eat him, and all those with him, in the same manner that they had done the others. Sandoval then proceeded to attack them, which he did in two places at the same instant, and notwithstanding that both the natives and the Mexicans fought with great spirit, they had no better success than on former occasions,

being defeated and pursued with a considerable loss. Our people after the action going into some of their temples, found cloaths, arms, bridles and saddles, presented as offerings to their gods. Sandoval declared his intention of halting three days there, and he also now again demanded from them the treasure which had been taken. They readily submitted themselves to his Majesty, but in regard to the treasure, they said, that it was no longer in their power, having been transmitted to Mexico. Sandoval referred them to the general for their pardons, and returned with his troops, having made a considerable number of women and boys prisoners, all of whom were immediately marked with the iron. I was not on the expedition, being ill of a fever, and throwing up blood at the mouth; but I was bled plentifully, and thanks to God recovered. In consequence of the directions given by Sandoval, the chiefs of these nations, and also of many others in their neighbourhood, came in and made their submissions to Cortes. This expedition was productive of the very best effects. The fame of Cortes extended through all their countries, for valor and for justice, and he was much more dreaded and respected than Guatimotzin, the new sovereign of Mexico; insomuch that his decision was requested in the most important litigations. The small pox was now so prevalent in New Spain, that many of the great lords of the natives died of it. In such cases the claimants to the succession called on Cortes for, and abided by his decision, as sovereign lord of the country. There were at this period great disputes relative to the lordships of Ozucar and Guacachula, which being referred to Cortes he decided the cause in favor of a nephew of Montezuma, whose sister had married the cacique of that district.

At this time Cortes sent Sandoval to punish the people of the district called Cocotlan, where they had put to death nine Spaniards. Sandoval took with him thirty cavalry and one hundred infantry, with a strong body of Tlascalans. On his entry into the district he summoned these people, holding

out as usual threats on the one hand, and invitations on the other, to which the Indians replied, that they acknowledged no other government than that of Mexico, and that they were very well able to defend themselves. They had here a considerable force of Mexican auxiliaries, who encouraged them to resistance. As soon as Sandoval received this message he put his troops in order, and cautioned his allies not to advance to the attack at first, on account of their disordering the cavalry, but to wait until the enemy were broken by our troops, and then to fall on the Mexicans. Two large bodies of the enemy were met by our army, in a strong situation; they made a firm resistance, and before Sandoval could extricate his cavalry from the difficult and rocky ground, they had killed one and wounded nine of his horses and four soldiers. At length having driven them from this post, he advanced to their town, and there assaulting them and the reinforcements which had joined them, at their post in the temples, and large walled inclosures, with the good assistance of his Indian allies, whose keenness was increased by the abundance of plunder, he totally defeated, and put them to flight. Sandoval halted here for two days, during which the chiefs came in and made their submissions. He demanded of them the property and effects of the Spaniards whom they had put to death, but they replied that it was out of their power to return them, they having already burned the whole. They also said that most of the Spaniards they had killed were eaten, five of them having been sent to their monarch Guatimotzin. They promised a plentiful supply of provisions, apologized for what was passed, and Sandoval being able to do no more was fain to accept their submissions.

As all this country was now brought under subjection, Cortes determined, with the approbation of his Majesty's officers to mark the prisoners and slaves, previous to the taking out the royal fifth, and his own. An order was in consequence given out, that the soldiers should bring all

their prisoners to an appointed place, which was a large house in the town, for this purpose. It was accordingly done; they consisted of women, boys, and girls of the Indians, for as to the men they were too troublesome to keep, and our Tlascalan friends to whom they were given by us did us all the service we could desire from them. The prisoners remained in confinement during the night, and in the morning the repartition took place. First the royal fifth was selected, and then that of Cortes; and thus far all went on very well, but when the soldiers shares came to be allotted, behold! we found that some one had been there in the night, and taken every handsome and good Indian that was there, leaving us nothing but a herd of old, ugly, and miserable jades. This of course made a great murmur amongst the soldiers, who loudly charged Cortes with having conveyed away and concealed all the valuable slaves, and the soldiers of Narvaez swore they never heard of such a thing as two kings, and two fifths, in his Majesty's dominions! among the rest one Juan de Quexo said he would make it known in Castille how they were treated, and another plainly told Cortes how he had abused them in regard to the gold in Mexico, for that when the division was made there appeared only three hundred thousand crowns in value, and when our flight took place he produced above seven hundred thousand; all of which had been regularly attested. And now the poor soldier, who had worn himself to nothing with fatigue, and was full of wounds, when he had gotten a good female Indian prisoner, and given her cloathing and ornaments, found that she was taken from him! "When the order was given," said the soldier, "every one thought that the slaves were only put in to be marked and valued, and that each would get his own back, paying the fifth of the value which she was rated at to his Majesty, and that Cortes was to have no farther claim on them whatever." He added a great deal more to the same purpose, but worse than what I have mentioned. When Cortes heard these exclamations against him, he made answer, swearing by his

conscience! his usual oath, that it never should happen so again, and he protested that in future better regulations should be adopted. Thus with smooth words, and fair promises on his part, the affair passed over.

But I have now something to mention worse than this; it has been already related how in the fatal night of the retreat from Mexico, the treasure was produced and all the soldiers given liberty to take as much as they chose of it; many of those of Narvaez loaded themselves with gold, some also of ours did the same; to a great many this cost their lives, and none who escaped with life and what they had carried off, but were severely wounded. After all this however Cortes came to know that in our garrison here at La Frontera, a quantity of gold in bars was in circulation, and that deep gaming was going on amongst our soldiers; wherein our companions had forgot the old proverb which says, that "wealth and amours should be kept concealed." He issued an order for all the gold to be brought in within a given time, under the severest penalty in case of disobedience, promising, on a fair delivery, to return the third part, but threatening in case of failure or evasion, that the whole should be forfeited. Many of the soldiers refused, and from some Cortes took it by way of loan; but indeed rather by main force than free will. As many of the captains and also of those who had offices under his Majesty were possessed of gold, a compromise took place whereby no more was said about the order; but it was a very bad transaction on the part of Cortes.

The officers of Narvaez thought this a good juncture to renew their solicitations to Cortes for permission to return to Cuba. After much trouble and many efforts on their part, Cortes assented, promising that on the conquest of Mexico, he would give his friend Andres de Duero much more wealth than he had ever possessed. He made similar offers also to the other captains, especially to Augustin Bermudez. Those who were determined to return he

ordered to be provided with whatever was necessary for their voyage, such as maize, dogs salted, fowls, &c, and giving them one of the best ships in the harbour, he wrote letters by them to his wife Donna Catalina Xuarez Marcayda, and to his brother in law Juan Xuarez, informing them of all that had happened; and he also transmitted to them by the same opportunity some bars and ornaments of gold. The following persons were among those who returned to Cuba at this time, with their pockets well lined after all their disasters. Andres de Duero, Augustin Bermudez, Juan Buono de Quexo, Bernardino de Quesada, Francisco, Velasquez the hump backed, a relation of the governor of Cuba, Gonzalo Carrasco who returned afterwards to this country and lives in La Puebla, Melchor Velasco, and one Ximenes who lives in Guaxaca: he went for his sons; also the commendador Leon de Cervantes who went to bring over his daughters; after the conquest of Mexico he married them to very honourable connexions; one Maldonado also of Medellin, an invalid; not he who married Donna Maria del Rincon, nor the big Maldonado, nor the other of that name whom we called Alvaro Maldonado "the fierce," who was married to a lady named Maria Arias; there was also one Vargas whom we nicknamed "the gallant;" I do not mean the Vargas who was father in law to Christoval Lobo; Cardenas the pilot also went; it was he who talked of the two kings; Cortes gave him three hundred crowns for his wife and children; with many others whom it would be too prolix to enumerate. When Cortes was remonstrated with on letting so many quit us in our weak state he replied, that he did it partly to get rid of their importunities, and partly because they were not fit for war, and that it was better to be alone than badly accompanied. He sent Alvarado with them in order to see them shipped, and at this time he also dispatched De Ordas and Alonzo de Mendoza to Castille, with certain instructions, the tenor of which we were ignorant of; as we also were of

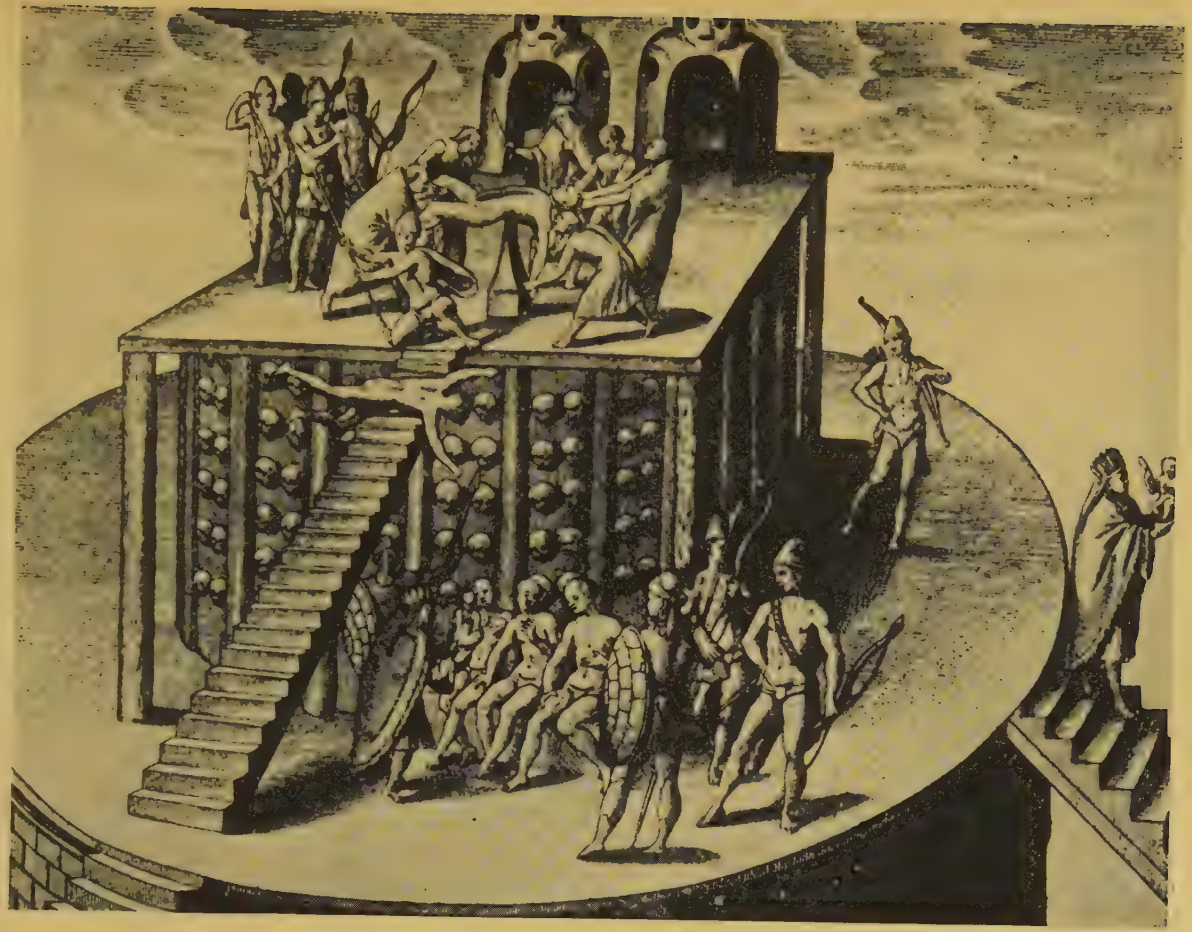
what was going on in that country relative to us, except that the Bishop of Burgos declared us all traitors, and that Diego de Ordas answered very well for us, and got for himself the order of St. Jago, and for his coat of arms the volcano which is between Guaxocingo and Cholula. But these affairs shall be related in their proper time. Cortes also sent Captain Alonzo de Avila contador of New Spain, and Francisco Alvarez, a man of business, to make a report to the royal court of audience and the brothers of the order of Jeronymites in St. Domingo, of all that had happened, more particularly relative to Narvaez; and also to inform them, how he had punished by slavery, those guilty of revolt and murders, and meant to pursue the same measures with all those people who adhered to the alliance of the Mexicans. He also supplicated their interests in representing our faithful services to the Emperor, and their support against the misrepresentations and enmity of the Bishop of Burgos.

Cortes likewise at this time sent a vessel to Jamaica for horses, commanded by one De Solis, whom we afterwards called De Solis de la Huerta. Some will ask how he was able to send agents to Castille, to St. Domingo, and Jamaica, without money. To this I reply, that on the night of our retreat from Mexico, though many of our soldiers were killed, yet a considerable quantity of gold was saved, as the first who passed the bridge were, the eighty loaded Tlascalans; so that though much was lost in the ditches of Mexico, yet all was not left there, and the gold which was brought off by the Tlascalans, was by them delivered to Cortes. But as to us poor soldiers who had no command, but were commanded, it was enough for us to escape with our lives, and all badly wounded too, without troubling ourselves what was done with the gold, nor how much of it was brought off; and it was also shrewdly suspected, that the treasure which fell to the share of the garrison of Villa Rica, and of which those who were entrusted with the conveyance were robbed,

went after all to Old Castille, Jamaica and elsewhere. But the ingots of gold in the captains pocket stopped all inquiry upon that head.

The siege of Mexico being now determined on, Cortes left a garrison of twenty men mostly sick and wounded, under the command of Francisco de Orozco in the town of Frontera, and proceeded with the rest of his force to the country of Tlascala, where he ordered timber to be cut for the construction of the vessels to command the lake of Mexico. The ships were to be constructed under the directions of Martin Lopez, an excellent shipwright, and one who was most highly serviceable to his Majesty's interests here in other respects, besides being a valiant soldier. When we arrived at Tlascala, we found that our good friend and the faithful ally of our Monarch, Maxicatzin, had fallen a victim to the small pox. Cortes lamented him as if he had been his father, and put on mourning in respect to him, as did many of our captains and soldiers. As there was some dispute in regard to the succession, Cortes settled that it should be with the legitimate son of our friend, as he had desired at his death; a short time previous to which, having summoned his family into his presence, he had strictly enjoined them never to quit our alliance, as we were undoubtedly those who were destined to rule that country. The other chiefs of that nation offered their assistance in providing timber, and also to aid us in the war against the Mexicans. Cortes received their proposals with every mark of attention and gratitude, and at that time proposed to one of them, the elder Xicotenga, to turn christian; to which he readily assented, and was baptized in great ceremony by the name of Don Lorenzo de Vargas.

Our shipwright Lopez managed his business so well, that in a few days he had all his timber cut, shaped, and marked for each particular part of the vessels. He was assisted by a good soldier named Andres Nunez, and by old Ramirez the carpenter, who was lame with a wound. Cortes obtained from the port of Villa Rica the iron work, sails, and other



HUMAN SACRIFICE AS PRACTICED IN WAR TIME BY AZTEC PRIESTHOOD.

necessaries to equip the vessels; and he also ordered to be sent to him what smiths were there, amongst others, Aguilar, of which name there were three amongst us, but this was the man we called "the iron-mauler." As pitch was wanting, and was unknown to the natives of those countries, he sent four sailors to the pine woods of Guaxacingo, which are very considerable, to obtain a supply of that article. Some curious persons have asked me, why Cortes sent Alonzo de Avila who was so valiant a captain on an affair of negociation, when he had men of business such as Alonzo de Grado, and Juan de Caceres the rich, and others whom they have named to me. To this I reply, that Cortes sent Avila because he was a brave man, and would not be afraid to speak out on any necessary occasion in order to obtain justice; and therefore, to avoid being opposed and thwarted by him, and to give his company to Andres de Tapia, and his office of contador to Alonzo de Grado, Cortes chose to send him upon business to St. Domingo.

Now that the timber of the vessels was all ready for the dock yard, and that those who came with Narvaez no longer molested us with their fears and surmises, there was great difference of opinion amongst us on the subject of establishing our post, in order to prepare for the investment of Mexico. Some strongly recommended Ayotcingo as most convenient on account of the canals, others, amongst whom was Cortes, as strongly insisted on the elegibility of Tezcuco as most advantageous for making incursions upon the Mexican territory. The decision being at length for Tezcuco, just as we were ready to march we were interrupted in our movements for an instant, by intelligence that a vessel had arrived at Villa Rica from Europe and the Canary Islands, loaded with military stores, merchandise, and horses. It was commanded by one Francisco Medel, but the owner of the property, who came with it, was one Juan de Burgos. There were also on board thirteen soldiers. We were in high spirits on receiving this intelligence, and Cortes having

sent orders to purchase the whole cargo, we lost not a moment in setting forward on our route for Tezcuco, after we were joined by the people who came on board the vessel. Amongst these were one Juan del Espinar, afterwards a very rich man, one Sagredo uncle to the woman called La Sagreda, in the Island of Cuba, and a Biscayan named Monjaraz, uncle to two of that name who were soldiers with us, and father to the handsome woman who afterwards came to Mexico called La Monjaraza. This man never was in any expedition or engagement with us, always pretending to be sick, though he missed no opportunity of boasting of his valour. When we besieged Mexico, he said he would see how the natives fought, for he had no opinion of their bravery. He accordingly went to the top of a very high temple like a turret, and no one ever could tell how it was, but certain Indians killed him on that very day. Those who had known him in the Island of St. Domingo said, that it was God's judgment on him for having had his wife, a good, honourable, and beautiful woman, put to death, by the perjury of false witnesses.

Chapter ii.

March of the Spaniards to besiege Mexico, December 28th. 1520. Investment of Mexico, May 30th. 1521. Siege of that city, and final conquest August 16th. 1521.

On the day after the feast of the nativity, we set forward towards Tezcuco with our full force, and accompanied by ten thousand of our Tlascalan allies. On the same night we halted in a part of the territory of Tezcuco, the inhabitants of the place supplying us with provisions. The next night we halted at the foot of the ridge of mountains, having made a march of about three leagues; we found here a very severe cold. Early the next day we ascended the mountains, the bad roads through which were made more difficult by cuts, or dikes, abbatis of trees, and the like, which required the utmost exertions of our allies to remove. Proceeding thus however with much regularity and precaution, we reached the summit, a company of musqueteers and crossbow-men being in our front, and our allies clearing the way for the cavalry. Descending a little, we came to that part from whence we discover the whole extent of the city, lake, and plain of Mexico, with all its towns rising as it were out of the water, and here we returned thanks to God for permitting us again to behold this city.

We now observed signals made by smoke in the different places towards Mexico, and a little farther on we fell in with a body of the enemy who were posted at a bad pass, where a broken wooden bridge crossed a deep water cut. We soon drove them from thence, and passed over without difficulty, the enemy contenting themselves with shouting at us from a distance. Our allies pillaged as they went along,

contrary to the inclination of Cortes, who was not able to restrain them. We halted for this night at a town in the territory of Tezcuco, which the inhabitants had abandoned. We had got intelligence by some Mexicans we made prisoners in the last skirmish, that large bodies of the enemy waited for us in front; but it afterwards appeared that they had separated, in consequence of feuds, and indeed a civil war which existed between the Mexicans and those of Tezcuco. The small pox also, which was at the same time very destructive in the country, contributed in a considerable degree to prevent their armies from assembling.

On the next morning we again set forward on our march for Tezcuco, which was distant about two leagues; but we had proceeded a very short distance, before one of our patroles came to us with intelligence that ten Indians were on the road, with signs of peace. The whole of the country also through which we marched exhibited every sign of most perfect tranquillity. When these Indians arrived, we found that they composed an embassy, consisting of seven chieftains of Tezcuco. A golden banner borne upon a long lance was carried before them, and when they came near us the banner was lowered, and they bowed their bodies. Addressing Cortes in the name of their lord Cocoivacin, the prince of Tezcuco, they then requested to be received under our protection, inviting us to their city, and presenting to us, as a token of peace, their golden banner. They utterly denied having any part in the attacks with which we had been threatened, and requested that no injury might be done to their city by us or our allies. Three of these embassadors were personally known to most of us, for they were relations of the good Montezuma, and captains of his guards. Cortes earnestly requested the Tlascalan chiefs to prevent their people from pillaging, and his wishes were strictly attended to, excepting only in the article of provisions.

It clearly appeared that this embassy was a mere pretence; nevertheless the embassadors were assured that every protec-

tion should be afforded to the country, but were at the same time told, that it could not be unknown to them, how, above forty of the Spaniards and two hundred of our allies were put to death within their territories, when we retreated from Mexico. For the loss of lives Cortes said no restitution could be made, but the gold and other property they might return. They in reply threw the blame upon the prince who had succeeded Montezuma, and who they said received the spoil, and sacrificed the prisoners. Cortes therefore found that little was to be got from them, and we proceeded to a village in the outskirts of Tezcuco, named Guatinchan, or Huaxutlan, where we halted for the night. On the ensuing morning we arrived at Tezcuco, and immediately remarked that neither women or children were to be seen, and the men appeared as if they were meditating some mischief against us. We took up our quarters in some buildings which consisted of large halls and enclosed courts, and received orders not to quit them, and to be very alert. Alvarado, De Oli, and some soldiers whereof I was one, then ascended to the top of the great temple, which was very lofty, in order to notice what was going on in the neighbourhood. We observed that all the people were in movement, carrying off their children and effects to the woods, the reedy borders of the lake, and to a number of canoes collected for the purpose. Cortes now wished to seize the chief who had sent him the embassy, but found that he had fled to Mexico, with many other persons of rank. We posted strong guards for the night, and as in so large a city there are many different parties and factions, and those persons who were adverse to the present chief having remained, Cortes on the next morning sent for them, and enquired into the state of their government. They assured him that their present chief, Cocoivatzin, was an usurper, having murdered his elder brother Cuscuxca, and was supported only by the prince then on the throne of Mexico, and whose name was Guatimotzin. They pointed out the youth who was the right heir, and who

was immediately conducted into the presence of Cortes, by whose order he was baptized with much solemnity, being called after his godfather, Don Hernando Cortes; after which he was appointed lord of Tezcuco. Cortes in order to retain him in our holy faith and in the interests of Spain, and also to instruct him in our language, ordered three persons to attend upon him; Anthonio de Villaroel married to the handsome Isabel de Ojeda, a batchellor named Escobar captain of Tezcuco, and Pedro Sanches Farfan, a good soldier, married to the worthy and honorable lady Maria de Estrada. Cortes then required of him a number of Indian labourers to open the canals, in order to bring his vessels to the lake. He also explained to him his plan of attacking Mexico, to which the young prince offered assistance to the utmost of his power.

Our captains were at this time assigned their different posts, in case of a sudden attack upon our quarters, the reigning prince in Mexico frequently sending out his troops upon the lake, in expectation of taking us unprepared. Some neighbouring people, whose district is called Guatinchan, and who had been guilty of offences in the murders of our countrymen, now petitioned for, and obtained pardon. The work upon the canals went on most rapidly, as we never had less than from seven to eight thousand Indians employed.

Coadlavaca, late upon the throne of Mexico, was lord of Iztapalapa, the people whereof were bitter enemies to us, and our declared allies of Chalco, Talmalanco, Mecameca, and Chimaloacan. As we had been twelve days in Tezcuco, so large a force caused some scarcity of provisions; idleness had also made our allies grow impatient, and for those reasons it became necessary to take the field. Cortes therefore proceeded towards Iztapalapa at the head of thirteen cavalry, two hundred and twenty infantry, and the whole body of our Indian confederates. The inhabitants had received a reinforcement of eight thousand Mexicans, and as we approached, they fell back into the town. But this was

all a concerted plan; they then fled into their canoes, the reeds by the side of the lake, and also to those houses which were in the water, where they remained quietly, leaving us in possession of that part of the town which was on the firm land. As it was now night we posted our guards, and were reposing contentedly in our quarters, when all on a sudden there came on us such a body of water by the streets and into the houses, that if our friends from Tezcuco had not called to us at that moment, we should have been all drowned; for the enemy had cut the banks of the canals, and also a causeway, whereby the place was laid under water as it were instantaneously. As it happened two of our allies only, lost their lives, but all our powder was destroyed, and we were glad to escape with a good wetting. We passed the night badly enough, being supperless, and very cold; but what provoked us most was the laughter and mockings of the Indians upon the lake. Worse than this however happened to us, for large bodies from the garrison of Mexico, who knew of the plan, crossed the water and fell on us at day break with such violence that it was with difficulty we could sustain their attacks. They killed two soldiers and one of our horses, and wounded a great many. Our allies also suffered a considerable loss on this occasion. The enemy being at length beaten off we returned to Tezcuco, in very bad humour, having acquired little fame or advantage by our expedition.

Two days after our return from our last expedition, the people of three neighbouring districts, viz Tepetezcuco, Obtumba, and another which I do not recollect, sent to sollicit pardon for the offences they had committed, excusing themselves, by alledging the commands of Coadlavaca. Cortes making a merit of necessity gave them a free pardon, knowing very well that he was not in a situation to do otherwise. The people also of that place called Venezuela, or Little Venice, who had always been at enmity with the Mexicans, now sollicited our alliance; a circumstance highly

useful, from the situation of that town within the lake; and they promised also to bring over their neighbours to us.

Intelligence was soon received, that large bodies of Mexican troops had fallen upon the districts in alliance with us, the inhabitants of which being afraid to remain at home, were flying to the woods or to our quarters for protection. Cortes ordered out twenty cavalry and two hundred infantry, twenty three musqueteers and crossbow-men included, and taking Alvarado and De Oli with him, proceeded to the towns of Guatinchan, and Huaxutlan. The reports appeared to have foundation, but the real cause of contention was, the crop of Indian corn on the borders of the lake, which was now fit to reap, and from which the people of Tezcuco and the others supplied our provisions; but the Mexicans also laid claim to it, and it appeared that the produce of these fields went to the priests of Mexico. Cortes told them to inform him when they thought it necessary to cut the corn, and accordingly, at that time, a body of one hundred or upwards of our soldiers, attended by the allies went out to cover the reapers. I was twice on that duty, and had one smart skirmish. The Mexicans crossed over in upwards of a thousand canoes, and attacked us in the maize fields, but we and our allies, drove them back to their boats, with the loss of one soldier of our's killed, and many wounded. They fought like men, and left behind them twenty dead, and we also took five prisoners. At this time other neighbouring districts solicited our alliance.

There were two places, named Chalco and Talmalanco, of some consequence, as being between our army and Tlascala. They were now possessed by the Mexican troops, and though Cortes had several petitions for protection, he thought it necessary above all things, immediately to dislodge these Mexicans, that such of his allies as wished it might return home, and also in order to obtain his ship timber from Tlascala. He therefore sent a force for this purpose under Sandoval and De Lugo, consisting of fifteen cavalry and

two hundred infantry, and he gave these officers orders to break completely the Mexican force, whereby we should obtain a clear communication with Villa Rica. Our allies of Chalco were secretly informed of our intention, in order that they should be ready to support us. Sandoval had put ten of his party in the rear as a guard, and to protect the allies who were returning home with his detachment, and who were loaded with plunder. The Mexicans fell upon them on their march with considerable impression, owing to the weakness of the rear guard, of which they killed two, and wounded the rest; and although Sandoval instantly flew to their relief, the Mexicans contrived to reach the lake. Sandoval censured the people in the rear for this, throwing the whole blame on them; he then put the Tlascalans in security, and having sent the letters with which he was intrusted to the commandant of Villa Rica, in which Cortes ordered him to send what reinforcements he could to Tlascala, there to wait until it should be ascertained that the route from thence to Tezcuco was clear, he dismissed the allies to their province, and returned to Chalco, which district he had reason to apprehend was filled with the troops of the Mexicans.

On his road he was attacked in a plain covered with maize and maguey, by a body of the enemy who wounded several of his party; the cavalry drove them to a distance, after which he pursued his route to Chalco. Having informed the principal people of this place of his intention to march to Tezcuco on the ensuing day, they informed him of their determination to go with him, and for the following reason. Their lord was lately dead of the small pox. He had on his deathbed recommended his sons to the protection of Cortes, being convinced that we were those of whom their ancestors had prophesied, when they said that men with beards should come to govern them; and he therefore enjoined his sons to receive their dominions from the hands of our chief. Sandoval accordingly marched for our head quarters, bringing with him the young lords of Chalco, who

experienced a most gracious reception from Cortes, and they presented him with ornaments of gold amounting in value to about two hundred thousand crowns. Cortes divided the district between them, giving Chalco and the larger part to the elder brother, and Talmalanco, Ayocingo, and Chimalcan, with other places, to the younger. By some Mexican prisoners Cortes sent a message to the reigning prince in that city, couched in the most inviting and amicable terms, in order to induce him to come to an accommodation; but Guatimotzin would not hear them, and persisted in the most active hostility against us. Frequent complaints came to us at this time of the incursions made by the enemy upon our allies of Guatinchan and Huaxutlan, in the neighbourhood of the lake, upon the old cause of the fields sown for the service of the Mexican temples; in consequence of which, Cortes being determined to put a stop to these inroads, and marching with a strong party for that purpose, came up with the enemy at the distance of about two leagues from Tezcuco, and so completely broke and defeated them, though with no very considerable loss on their side, that they did not show themselves there again.

As it was resolved to lose no time in the grand object of our enterprise, Sandoval attended by twenty of the principal people of Tezcuco, marched with a detachment of two hundred soldiers of the infantry, twenty musqueteers and cross-bow-men included, and fifteen cavalry, from Tezcuco, in order to bring the timber to construct our ships on the lake of Mexico. Before they set out, Cortes effected a reconciliation between the Tlascalans and the Indians of Chalco, who had long been hostile. He gave directions to Sandoval, after he had left the chieftains of Chalco in their own town, to proceed by a place named by us Puebla Moresca, the inhabitants of which had robbed and put to death upwards of forty of our soldiers, who were on their march from Vera Cruz to Mexico, when we went to the relief of Alvarado. Sandoval had orders to inflict an exemplary punishment on

them, not that their guilt was more than that of the people of Tezcuco, who were the leaders of the business, but because they could be punished with less inconvenience. The place was put under military execution. Some few of the inhabitants were made prisoners, and when Sandoval enquired of them in what manner they had destroyed the Spaniards, they informed him that they were fallen on by the troops of Mexico and Tezcuco, by surprise, in a narrow pass where they could only go in single file, and that it was done in revenge for the death of Cacamatzin. Not more than three or four of these people lost their lives, as Sandoval had pity on them. In the temples were found many traces of the blood of our countrymen upon the walls, their idols were besmeared with it, and we found the skins of two of their faces with their beards, dressed like leather, and hung upon the altars, as were also the shoes of four horses, together with their skins very well dressed. The following words were found written upon a piece of marble fixed in the wall of one of the houses. "Here was taken the unfortunate Juan Juste, with many others of his companions." This Juste was a gentleman who came with Narvaez, and served in the cavalry. These sad remains filled the minds of Sandoval and his party with rage and grief, but there was no possibility of obeying the dictates of their feelings, for the men were all fled, and the women and children bewailed their fate in the most affecting terms. Sandoval therefore sent them to their husbands and fathers, whom they induced to come in and submit. In answer to the questions put to them relative to the gold, they declared that it had all been claimed by the Mexicans. Sandoval now continued his march to Tlascala, and when he came near the capital of that country, he fell in with a vast body of Indians employed in transporting the timber, and conducted by Chichimecatecle, and our shipwright Martin Lopez. The order these people came in was as follows. Eight thousand men carried the timber ready shaped for every part of the thirteen vessels, eight thousand

more followed as a guard with their ensigns and arms, and a third body of two thousand, as a relief, and with provisions for the whole. Several Spaniards joined us with this escort, and also two great Tlascalan chiefs named Teuleticle, and Teatical. The enemy appeared only in small bodies at a distance, but it was thought necessary to use much precaution, considering the extent of the line of march, and the danger of a surprise. Sandoval sent some of his troops in front, and posted others on the flanks, while he remained at the rear guard with the Tlascalans, to whom he assigned that post. This arrangement gave their chief, Chichimecatecle, great offence, but when he was informed that it was there the Mexicans were most likely to attack, his pride became pacified. In two days more the whole body arrived at Tezcuco, in great triumph and pomp, the allies wearing their finest habits and great plumes of feathers, with drums, horns, and trumpets, sounding. Thus they continued marching into our quarters, without breaking a file, for the space of full half the day, shouting out, "Castilla! Castilla! Tlascala! Tlascala! live his Majesty the Emperor."

Our timber being all now laid ready at the docks, in a very short time, by the great exertions of Lopez, the hulls were completely finished; but we were obliged to keep the strictest guard, as the Mexicans sent three parties to endeavour to set them on fire.

The Tlascalans were anxious to be sent on some enterprise, and Cortes indulged them by declaring his intention to march on the ensuing day to Saltocan, a town which had neglected our summons to a submission. For this purpose he ordered two hundred and fifty infantry and thirty cavalry, the whole of the Tlascalans, and a body of the warriors of Tezcuco. He appointed the captains Alvarado and De Oli to act under him, and having left the post of Tezcuco, where it was always necessary "to have the beard upon the shoulders," under the care of Sandoval, and ordered Lopez to have the vessels ready to launch within the space of

fifteen days, he set out with the above force upon his expedition. When he approached Saltocan, he was met by large bodies of the Mexican troops, whom the cavalry drove to the woods. The troops halted for the night in some villages, in a country thickly inhabited. They were kept very alert, for it was known that the enemy had a considerable force in Saltocan; and a body of Mexicans had been sent thither in large boats, and was at this time concealed in the deep canals of the neighbourhood.

On the ensuing day, at the commencement of the march, our troops were assailed by the enemy, and several were wounded, without our cavalry having it in their power to retaliate, on account of the number of canals. The only causeway which led to the town on the land side, they had completely inundated, and our musquetry was of no effect against the enemy in their canoes, being so well guarded by strong screens of timber. All this contributed to give our people a disgust to the expedition. Some Indians of Tezcuco who had joined our army, at this time pointed out a pass to one our soldiers; upon which, our people put themselves into march, and under the direction of their guide crossed the canals and waters, and at length reached the road which led to the town, Cortes with the cavalry remaining on the other side. Our troops advanced against the town, and made a considerable slaughter of the Mexicans, driving the remainder, and the natives of the place, to their boats. They then returned to Cortes, with a considerable booty of slaves, mantles, salt, and gold. We lost one soldier by this expedition.

On the ensuing day Cortes marched against a large town called Culvatitlan, through a very populous country. We found the place to which we marched totally deserted, and here we halted for the night. On the ensuing day we proceeded to another large town called Tenayuco, but which we named the town of the serpents, on account of the enormous figures of these animals which we found in their temples,

and which they worshipped as gods. This place we also found deserted, and we proceeded a league farther to that which we called the town of the gold-smiths. This place was also deserted, and our troops marched half a league farther, to Tacuba, our soldiers being obliged to cut their way through considerable numbers of the natives. In this town our troops halted for the night, and on the next day they were assailed by bodies of the enemy, who had settled a plan to retreat by their causeways, in order to draw us into an ambuscade. This in part succeeded; Cortes and our troops pursued them across a bridge, and were immediately surrounded by vast numbers on land and in the water. The ensign was thrown over the bridge, and the Mexicans were dragging him to their canoes, yet he escaped from them with his colours in his hand. In this attack they killed five of our soldiers, and wounded many. Cortes perceived his imprudence, and ordered a retreat, which was effected with regularity, our people fronting the enemy, and only giving ground inch by inch. Juan Volante, the ensign who fell into the lake, had a jealousy with one of our soldiers, Pedro de Ircio, about a certain woman. The latter in order to affront him used some abusive language, which Volante did not deserve, being a very valiant gentleman, as he had shown on that and many other occasions. Cortes halted here for five days, and then returned to Tezcuco, the Mexicans harrassing his march; but having been once defeated in an ambuscade which Cortes laid for them, they desisted. When our troops arrived at head quarters, the Tlascalans, who had enriched themselves by plunder, were anxious to go home, which Cortes readily gave them permission to do.

During four days after this expedition, the Indians of several neighbouring districts came in with presents and declarations of submission. Cortes received all in good part, although he knew very well that they had been concerned in murders, dismissing them with promises of protection. Other applications of a more embarrassing nature were also

made at this time, for the nations in our alliance came with painted representations of the outrages committed on them by the Mexicans, and requesting succour. Cortes was hardly able to grant them assistance, from the state of our army, which, exclusive of our loss by killed and wounded was grown very unhealthy. He however promised them his support, but told them to rely more on their own exertions, and that they should be assisted by the neighbouring people of our alliance. For this purpose he gave them letters of summons to the respective districts, to assemble against the common enemy. The different districts having assembled their forces, met the Mexicans in the field, and had an action with them, in which they exerted themselves with success. The province of Chalco however was an object of more importance; the possession of that country was requisite for our communication with Villa Rica and Tlascala, and for the subsistence of our troops, as it was a corn country. It was much harrassed, and therefore Cortes sent Sandoval with about two hundred and fifty of our troops, cavalry and infantry, accompanied by what few of our Tlascalan allies remained with us, and a company of those of Tezcuco, to clear it of the enemy.

On the twelfth day of March, one thousand five hundred and twenty one, after hearing mass, Sandoval set out, and arrived in the district of Chalco. On the ensuing morning he reached Talmanalco, where he received information that the Mexican force was posted at a large town called Guaztepeque. The warriors of Chalco accompanied our troops, who halted for the night at the town of Chimalcan. On the next morning Sandoval ordered the crossbow-men and musqueteers to attack the enemy in the broken ground, and forming the cavalry into small divisions of three in front, directed them to charge as soon as the firing had made any impression; those who were armed with sword and buckler he formed in a compact body as a reserve. Advancing in this order, he shortly perceived the Mexicans in three

large battalians or columns, and sounding their warlike music. As soon as Sandoval perceived their disposition he thought proper to give up his original plan, and to break the enemy by a charge of cavalry. Putting himself therefore at the head of this body of troops, he attacked them, crying out "St. Jago for us! comrades fall on!" The main body of the Mexicans was partly broken by the charge, but they immediately closed and fronted again. The ground was much in their favor, so that Sandoval saw it was absolutely necessary to drive them from this post, into the open ground in their rear. For this purpose he ordered the musqueteers and crossbow-men to engage them in the front, and the troops armed with sword and target to turn their flanks, and he gave directions, that at the proper time, the cavalry should fall on the enemy by a signal. He also now ordered our allies to come forward to the attack. Our troops at last forced them to retreat; they fell back however no farther than to a second strong position, nor could Sandoval with his cavalry do any considerable execution among them. Here we lost Gonzalo Dominguez, whose horse fell with him, whereby he died in a few days. He was much regretted, for we esteemed him to be as brave a soldier as De Oli or Sandoval. Our army having broken the enemy again, pursued them to the town, where they were suddenly attacked by at least fifteen thousand fresh warriors, who attempted to surround them; but our troops falling on both their flanks, the whole faced about and fled, endeavoring to rally behind some works which they had constructed. They were however so closely followed that they had not time to do so, and were driven completely withinside the town. Sandoval then thought it necessary to give his soldiers some repose, and as a considerable spoil of provisions had fallen in the way of the troops, they began to prepare their dinners, during which time the patroles came galloping in, crying "To arms! the enemy are coming!" There was hardly a moments interval until they were prepared, and

advancing against the enemy, they met them in an open space, and had a severe skirmish, after which the enemy fell back behind their works; but Sandoval attacked them with such impetuosity that he drove them completely away, forcing them to evacuate the town.

In this place was a very magnificent and extensive garden, in which Sandoval took his quarters for the night, and certainly it was a beautiful one to behold; it contained a number of large and handsome buildings, and such varieties that it was truly admirable, and fit for the residence of a great prince; nor had our soldiers time to see the whole of it, for it was above a quarter of a league in length. I was not in this action, being very ill by the wound of a lance, which I received in my throat at the affair of Iztapalapa, the marks of which I carry to this day; but I saw the garden about twenty days afterwards, when I accompanied Cortes. Not having been on this expedition for the reason I have before assigned, as I was then almost at death's door, I do not in my narrative say we, and us, but they, and them; but notwithstanding that, all is true to the letter as I have related it, for the transactions of an expedition are immediately known in quarters, nor is there any opportunity of adding to, or diminishing the truth, as is sometimes the case elsewhere.

Sandoval thought it a good time to summon all the neighbouring districts to submission, which he accordingly did, but with very little effect, those of Acapistlan, especially, answering by a defiance. This made our allies of Chalco uneasy, as well knowing that they and the Mexicans were only waiting until the return of the Spaniards, in order to fall upon them. For several reasons it was necessary therefore to humble these people, but a great difference of opinion existed on the subject. Sandoval was adverse to any new expedition on account of the number of his wounded, and the soldiers of Narvaez were adverse, because they disliked risques of any kind; but our allies were for it, and Captain Luis Marin, a wise and valiant officer, strongly supported

them. As the distance was but two leagues Sandoval acquiesced. When he advanced, the enemy attacked him with their missile weapons, and after wounding some of his men, returned to their strong post in the town. Our allies did not exhibit much alacrity in going to the attack, in which the Spaniards were obliged to shew them the way, and dismounting some of the cavalry, and leaving the rest in the plain to guard the rear, they advanced against the place, which they entered, having a number wounded in the ascent, and amongst others Sandoval himself. But if the Indians were tardy before, they made up for it now; the Spaniards not having the trouble of putting the enemy to death, it being entirely saved them by their allies. Indeed our countrymen thought their time employed to much better purpose in searching for gold, or making good female prisoners, than in cutting to pieces a parcel of poor wretches who did not any longer defend themselves. They frequently blamed the cruelty of their allies, and saved many Indians from them. Gomara says that the Spaniards suffered thirst here because the water was not to be drank, on account of the quantity of blood with which it was discoloured; the fact is, that many of the wounded Mexicans did come from the rocks and ridges down to the water in making their escape, and it was discoloured the length of time that it would take to say an Ave Maria, but as to our people suffering thirst on that account, that must be untrue, for there were several fountains of the finest water, in the town.

After this success Sandoval returned to Tezcuco, with a number of slaves and considerable spoils. Guatimotzin the reigning prince of Mexico was enraged when he heard of the hostilities committed against him by his own people of Chalco, and determined to inflict immediate punishment. He now sent across the lake twenty thousand of his warriors in two thousand canoes, to waste the province with fire and sword, so that at the very moment when the brave Sandoval had arrived at head quarters, and before he could make the

report of his expedition to the general, there arrived expresses from Chalco stating their being in a more desperate situation than ever. This put Cortes in a violent passion with Sandoval, thinking that he had been the cause of this misfortune; and thus, without hearing him out, when he came to wait upon him, he commanded his instant return. This gave Sandoval pain, thinking that he was unworthily treated by Cortes. However he was obliged to return to Chalco. On his arrival he found the business entirely over, for the people of that province had summoned their allies, and repulsed the Mexicans, so that our countrymen returned with the prisoners to head quarters. Cortes was delighted when he heard the event, but Sandoval would not speak to him. The general made every apology, and protested that the whole was owing to a mistake, however, it is unnecessary to say any more upon the subject, as they shortly after became as good friends as ever.

At this time, according to a general proclamation, the Indian slaves were brought together in order to be marked. The reader is already acquainted with the transactions at Tepeaca. It was if possible worse now at Tezcuco. First there was a fifth for his Majesty, then another fifth for Cortes, and then the shares of the captains. What was worst, most of the good female slaves had disappeared during the night! it had been promised that they should be rated, and the proprietor charged according to the value; but the royal officers or commissaries valued them as they thought proper, so that the poor soldier fell from bad to worse. The consequence of this was, that in future, to avoid losing them thus, the soldiers concealed their slaves or passed them as servants and not prisoners of war, and those who were in favor with Cortes brought them to be marked privately and paid the value to him. Those slaves who fell to the lot of such masters as treated them ill, or had the name of doing so, immediately deserted and were no more to be found; but the owners always remained debtors for so much upon

their value in his Majesty's books, so that many were in debt more than their share of prisage of gold could pay off.

At this time arrived a ship, with arms and gunpowder, from Old Castille, in which came Julian de Alderete treasurer for the crown; he was from Tordesillas, as was also Orduna the elder, who, after the conquest, brought over five daughters whom he married very honorably. A brother of the order of St. Francis also came; he was named Fra Pedro Malgarejo de Urrea. He brought with him a number of bulls of our lord St. Peter, in order to compose our consciences if we had any thing to lay to our charge on account of the wars. The reverend father made a fortune in a few months, and returned to Castille. Anthonio Carajaval who now lives in Mexico, though very old, Geronymo Ruiz de la Mora, one Briones, who was about four years afterwards hanged in Guatimala for sedition, Alonzo Diaz de la Reguera now living in Valladolid, and many others came by this vessel. We now learned that the Bishop of Burgos had no longer any power, his Majesty having been displeased with his conduct ever since he knew of our eminent services. Another message arrived at this moment from Chalco for assistance against the Mexicans, upon which Cortes gave his promise that he would immediately march thither, although the brigantines were now ready to launch, and the soldiers were anxious to begin the siege of Mexico.

Cortes, leaving the town of Tezcuco to the care of Sandoval, set out after mass, upon his expedition, to clear the district of Chalco, and reconnoitre the country adjacent to the lake, on friday the fifth of April, one thousand five hundred and twenty one, at the head of three hundred infantry, twenty crossbow-men and fifteen musqueteers included, and thirty cavalry, with a large body of the auxiliaries of Tezcuco and Tlascala. The general was accompanied by the treasurer Alderete, Fray Pedro Melgarejo, the captains Alvarado, De Oli, and Tapia, and in this expedition I also went. The first night we halted at Talmanalco, and on the

next day reached Chalco, whither Cortes summoned all the chiefs, and informed them of his intention immediately to attack Mexico, requiring their assistance, which they most readily promised. On the next day, Cortes continuing his march, arrived at the town of Chimalacoan, in the same province, where above twenty thousand warriors had assembled to meet us. From the time of my first arrival in this country, I never had seen so many of our allies in one body. They were those of Chalco, Guaxocingo, Tlascala, Tezcuco, and other places, and they certainly were attracted by the hope of spoil, and a voracious appetite for human flesh, just as the scald crows and other birds of prey follow our armies in Italy, in order to feed on the dead bodies after a battle.

We here received intelligence, that the Mexican forces and their allies of that neighbourhood, were ready and in the field. Cortes therefore warned us to be alert, and early the next morning after mass, as we proceeded on our march, our route being between two ridges of rocks the summits of which were fortified and garrisoned, the enemy endeavored by outcries and reproaches to draw us to an attack; but we pursued our march, by a large town named Guaztepecque, which we found abandoned, and passing through, we arrived at a plain where were some very scanty fountains of water, and hard by was a great rock with a fortress on the summit. We observed it to be filled with troops, who saluted us on our approach with shouts, showers of stones, and arrows, by the first discharge of which they wounded three of our soldiers. Cortes then ordered us to halt, and observing that the Mexicans seemed to despise us for not attacking them, he sent a party of cavalry to examine the rock. On their return they told the general, that no part seemed to them so accessible as that where we then were. Cortes then ordered us to ascend, Ensign Christoval del Corral with the colours leading us, and Cortes with the cavalry remaining in the plain to protect the rear.

When we began to ascend the mountain, the Indians threw

down large masses of rock, and it was dreadful to see them roll among us, and a wonder how any of us escaped, as they bounded over us. The order was a very inconsiderate one, and very unlike a wise captain. One soldier though he wore a helmet was killed at my foot; he never uttered a word; his name was Martin Valenciano. As we continued to ascend, the stones still came rolling down upon us, and two more soldiers, one named Gaspar Sanches, nephew to the treasurer of Cuba, and the other named Bravo, were the next who lost their lives, and immediately after, Alonzo Rodriguez was killed, and two more knocked down. Most of the rest received wounds, but still we ascended. I was at that time an active young man, and followed close to our ensign, taking advantage of the concavities that we found from time to time in the rock. Corral was wounded in the head, his face covered with blood, and the colours tattered to pieces. "Oh signor Bernal Diaz del Castillo" said he to me, "here is no advancing; remain under cover, for it is as much as I can do to keep my hold, and preserve myself from falling." Looking downward I at this time perceived Pedro Barba captain of the crossbow-men, with two soldiers, climbing up as we had done under the cover of the projections in the face of the rock. I called to him not to advance, for that it was impossible to climb much farther. He replied in lofty terms, that I should desist from talking, and proceed on. I was a little piqued at this, and exerting my utmost activity, mounted to a considerable distance higher, telling him I should see how he would do. At this moment a shower of large rocks came down, and crushed one of the soldiers who were with Barba to death; after having seen which he did not stir a step. Corral called out to those below desiring them to report to the general the impossibility of proceeding, and that even the descent was full of danger. When Cortes was informed of this, for he could not see us on account of the inequalities of the rocks, and understood that most of us were wounded and many killed, a circum-

stance which he could the readier believe from having had three of the cavalry killed on the plain by the rolling down of the masses of rocks, seven also being wounded in the same manner, he gave signals for us to descend, which we accordingly did, in a very bloody and bruised condition, leaving eight of our party dead.

Bodies of the Mexicans were watching us during this time, concealed in different places, in order to fall upon us when we were engaged in the attack, for it was a concerted plan. They now shewed themselves, and advanced against us; we attacked them in the plain and drove them to some other ridges of rocks, and advancing through narrow passes like roads between them, we found another very strong fortress similar to that we had just been repulsed from. We now desisted for the present, and returned to our former position, in order to procure water, the men and horses not having drank during the whole day. We found some springs at the foot of the rock, but the numbers of the enemy had drained them, and left nothing but mud. We then proceeded to the other fortress which we had observed; there was a distance of about a league and a half between the two. Here, in a grove of mulberry trees we found a fountain, but very scanty of water, and under these trees we halted for some time. At the foot of the rock whereon the fort was, stood a small village. The people above began at our approach to shoot at us, and appeared in much more considerable numbers than in the former place, and their situation was such that no shot from us could take effect upon them. For some distance from the level ground, there was an appearance of paths up the rock, but it altogether presented extreme difficulties.

On the ensuing day we attacked, our principal body climbing the rock very slowly and with great fatigue, nor could we have ever ascended to the works, for they were wounding and destroying us by rolling down masses of rock on our heads, but that fortunately for us there was within shot of

the post another rock which commanded it, and to this all our fire arms and crossbow-men were detached; and although they were rather too far off to have much effect, yet having killed several of the enemy over their ramparts, it threw them off their defence, and they offered to submit. Cortes called for five of their chiefs to descend, and reprehending them for having been the aggressors, he told them that he would pardon them on condition that they induced those who were in the other fortress to give themselves up, which they undertook to do. Cortes then ordered the two captains Juan Xaramillo and Pedro de Ircio, and the ensign, Corral, to ascend to the fort which had been surrendered, bidding me accompany them, and he at the same time warned us not to touch a single grain of maiz. This expression I considered as implying that we should do ourselves what good we had in our power. We found it to consist of an extensive plain on the summit of a perpendicular rock; the entrance was by an aperture not much larger than twice the size of the mouth of an oven. It was completely filled with men, women, and children, but they had not a single drop of water, and about twenty of their warriors were killed, and many wounded. Their property was all packed up in bales, and here was also a considerable tribute, collected in order to be sent to Mexico. I had brought four of my Indian servants with me, and began to load them, and also four of the natives; upon which Captain De Ircio came and told me to lay down the packs immediately, or he would report me to the general, asking if I had not heard his orders not to touch a grain of maize. I replied that I had heard the orders that the maize should not be taken, and that was the reason why I took the packages; but he would not suffer any of it to go, and on our return reported me to Cortes, expecting that I should receive blame; but Cortes was not so disposed, saying on the contrary, that he was sorry I had not got the spoil, and that the dogs should keep their property, and laugh at us, after all the mischief which they had done.

De Ircio on this wished to return thither; but Cortes told him that the time did not then admit of it. By this, the chiefs had arrived from the first fortress, the garrison of which agreed to submit, and we returned, being compelled by want of water, to the town of Guaztepeque, where was the noble garden I have before mentioned. In this garden our whole force lodged for the night; I certainly never had seen one of such magnificence, and Cortes and the treasurer Alderete, after they had walked through and examined it, declared that it was admirable, and equal to any that they had ever seen in Castille.

On the ensuing day we marched for Cuernabaca. The Mexicans who were in that town came out and attacked us, but we defeated and drove them to a town named Tepuztlan, which we took by surprise, making a great booty of Indian women, and other spoils. Cortes summoned the chiefs three or four times, to submit, and on their refusal to come in, and in order to strike terror into others, set fire to about one half of the houses. At this time the chiefs of a district named Yauhtepeque came to wait on Cortes and make their submission. On the next day we arrived at the large town of Cuernabaca, or Coadlavaca, in a very strong situation, on account of a deep ravine caused by a rivulet which runs at the depth of at least forty feet, although there is not much water, and which precluded all access to the town except by two bridges, which the inhabitants had broken upon our approach. Cortes however being informed that about half a league higher up was a passage practicable for the cavalry, went thither with them, and we all searched for passes, and at length discovered a very dangerous one, over some trees which hung across from the two opposite sides of the ravine. About thirty of us, and many Tlascalans, made our way over, by the help of those trees, with great difficulty, three fell into the water, and one broke his leg. It was indeed a truly frightful attempt; I for a time entirely lost my sight, from the depth and danger. We who got over, falling on the

flank and rear of the enemy unexpectedly, and being just then joined by part of our cavalry who had crossed a bridge which was not entirely destroyed, now drove the enemy from this post, to the neighbouring woods and rocks. In the town we found considerable property, and here we were again lodged in a large garden, belonging to the lord of the district. A deputation of twenty of the principal Indians waited on Cortes, apologizing for the hostilities committed, the blame of which they threw on the Mexicans, offering to submit themselves and observing, as I recollect, that their gods had been permitted by ours to punish them.

Suchimileco, the object of our march, is a large city on the fresh water lake, in which most of the houses are built. As it was late when we set out from Coadlavaca, and the weather excessively sultry, our troops suffered dreadfully from the want of water, not a drop whereof was to be met with on our route. Our allies fainted on the road in numbers; one of them died, and also one of our soldiers. Cortes seeing the distresses of the army, halted under some pine trees, and sent a party forward to seek for relief. When I saw them about to set off, my friend Christoval de Oli being one of them, I brought three of my Indian servants with me, and followed the party, which they observing, halted in order to make me return, but I was resolved, and De Oli at last assented, telling me I must expect to fight my way. About half a league in front were some villages on the side of a ridge. The cavalry went thither and found water in the houses, and one of my servants brought me from thence a large jar, which they use in that country, full of water. I then determined to return, for the inhabitants of the village had begun to take the alarm. I found Cortes just setting forward on his march, and gave him and the captains a hearty draught each out of the jar, which my servants carried very well concealed, for thirst considers itself before any one. We arrived at the villages and found water, though not much; the sun was then near setting, and our

cavalry came in and reported that the whole country was in movement against us; we therefore halted here. I was on the night guard, and recollect that it was very windy and rainy. Several of our soldiers were taken ill with inflammations in the mouth and throat, from eating a species of thistle or artichoke, to quench their thirst.

Early the next morning we pursued our route, and about eight o'clock arrived at Suchimileco. I can give no idea of the number of the enemies troops which were gathered here, they were in such vast bodies. They had broken down the bridge which was in front, and fortified themselves with parapets and pallisades; their leaders were armed with swords which they had taken from us in the fatal night of Mexico, and which they had polished and made very bright. The attack lasted for half an hour at the bridge. Some of our people passed the water by swimming, and some lost their lives in it. What was worst, several bodies fell on our flanks and rear. When our cavalry had got on firm ground, with the loss of two more of our soldiers killed, we drove them before us, but a reinforcement of at least ten thousand Mexicans just then arrived, and received the charge of our cavalry, four of whom they wounded. Here the good chesnut horse which our Cortes rode tired under him amongst a croud of the enemy, who pulled or knocked the general down, with the intention of taking him alive; more crouds now gathered about him, and were hurrying him off, but a body of our Tlascalan allies headed by the brave Christoval de Olea came to his rescue, and remounted him, though he was severely wounded in the head. Olea also received three desperate wounds from the swords of the enemy.

As all the streets of the town were full of Mexican troops, we were obliged to divide into bodies and fight separately; but those who were nearest, knowing by the outcry and noise that it was very serious in that part where Cortes commanded, hurried thither, and found him with about fifteen

of the cavalry in a very embarrassed situation, among the canals and parapets. We then forced the enemy to give ground, and brought off our Cortes and Olea. On first passing the bridge, Cortes had ordered the cavalry in two divisions, to clear our flanks. At this time they returned to us, every one of them wounded, and reported that the numbers were such that their efforts were unavailing.

We were in an enclosed court, dressing our wounds with burnt oil, and tearing cloth to bind them, when the cavalry came in; and in a short time after, such a volley of arrows came among us that very few escaped unhurt. We now, together with the cavalry, sallied out among the enemy, and used our swords to such effect that they left a considerable number behind them on the ground; our loss being, one man and two horses killed. Having now a little breathing time, for the enemy desisted from their attempt to storm our post, Cortes brought his troops to the large enclosures where were the temples of the Indians, and some of our party going to the top, which commanded Mexico and the whole lake, perceived above two thousand canoes coming from the city against us full of troops. A body of ten thousand men also marched on the land side, to attack us on that night, and another body of ten thousand was in readiness as a relief. All this we learned from five of the chiefs whom we made prisoners. We posted strong guards at those places where the enemy were to disembark, the cavalry were in readiness to act upon the roads and firm ground, and constant patroles were kept going during the night. I and ten more soldiers were posted as a guard upon a wall of lime and stone, which commanded one of the landing places. While we were on the watch, we heard a noise which we knew to be occasioned by the approach of a party of the enemy. We were prepared, and beat them off, sending one of our soldiers to make a report to Cortes. The enemy returned in a very short time, and attacking us again, knocked down two of our party, and then drew off to attempt a landing at another

place, which was a small gate upon a deep canal. The night was very dark, and as these people are not accustomed to fight during that season, it appeared that their two armies fell into confusion, and contrary to the orders they received, formed in one body, making at least fifteen thousand men.

I must now speak of myself, not meaning it however in the way of boast. When our report reached Cortes, he came to us with ten of the cavalry, and as he approached without speaking, I challenged, "who goes there?" and getting no answer, I and my comrade, one Gonzalo Sanchez a Portuguese of Algarve, sent three or four shots at them. Cortes knowing our voices observed to those with him, that this post required no visiting, for we were two of his veterans. He then remarked to us that our station was a dangerous one, and turning about without saying any more, he continued his rounds. I afterwards heard that one of Narvaez's soldiers was whipped for negligence on this night.

Our powder being all exhausted, Cortes ordered us to prepare a good store of arrows, which we were employed during the night in heading and feathering, under the directions of Pedro Barba the captain of the crossbow-men. At day break the enemy attacked us, but without much success; for we killed several of their leaders, and took many of them prisoners, with the loss of but one Spaniard killed. Our cavalry who had advanced, fell in with the Mexicans, and not being strong enough to attack them, sent back for assistance; on which the whole of our force sallied out. We charged and defeated the enemy, and made several prisoners, who informed us of the plan of the Mexicans to wear us out by incessant attacks. We therefore determined to quit that place on the ensuing day. In the interim, our troops and allies having intelligence of the wealth which was in the town, got some of the prisoners to point out to them the houses that contained it, the approach to which was by a causeway with small bridges over the canals, for they stood on the fresh water lake. From these they returned loaded

with cotton cloths and other valuables, and this example induced others to follow it. Unfortunately, while thus employed, a body of Mexicans in canoes came upon them, and wounding many, seized four soldiers of the company of Captain De Monjaraz, alive, and hurrying them into their vessels, carried them to Mexico in triumph. From these men Guatimotzin the King of Mexico was informed of the smallness of our numbers, and our great loss in killed and wounded. After having questioned them as much as he thought proper, he commanded their hands and feet to be cut off, and in this lamentable condition sent them through many districts of the neighbourhood, as a sample of what he expected to do by us all, and after having thus exhibited them through the country they were put to death. The ensuing morning afforded opportunity for fresh attacks upon us, as had been regularly the case for the four days during which we staid in Suchimelco.

Previous to our march, Cortes drew his troops to an open place a little out of the town, where the market was held. Here he formed us, and then made a speech, wherein he dwelt upon the dangers we had to go through in our retreat, and the great bodies of the enemy that waited us on the road; for which reason, he strongly insisted on the necessity of leaving all the luggage behind; but we replied that we were men able to defend our properties, our persons, and his also; and that it would be very paltry in us to abandon what we had acquired. When he saw our determination, he put us in order for the march, the baggage in the center, and the cavalry forming the advanced and rear guard; and it was protected also by our crossbow-men, for as to our musquetry it was useless from want of powder. The enemy attacked us upon our retreat, pursuing us as far as Cuyocan. There were in this neighbourhood clusters of towns, each of considerable magnitude, built in the water, at the distance of two leagues from Mexico, and about a league and an half from each other. They amounted to above ten in number.

It was the inhabitants of all those who had joined together at this time to attack us; their names were Suchimelco, Cuyoacan, Chohuilobusco, Iztapalapa, Coadlavaca, Mesquique, and others. We halted for two days at Cuyoacan, which we found abandoned, attending the wounded, and making arrows for our crossbows. On the third morning we set out upon our march for Tacuba, and were attacked as usual, but our cavalry drove the enemy to their ditches and canals.

Cortes at this time determined to lay an ambuscade, and accordingly set out with ten of the cavalry and four servants. He soon fell in with a party of Mexicans who fled before him, and imprudently pressing them too far, a large body of their warriors started out upon him, and in their first attack wounded all the horses, and getting two of the attendants of Cortes in their hands, carried them to Mexico to be sacrificed, the rest having a most narrow escape. Our main body reached the head quarters at Tacuba with the baggage in safety, and not hearing any thing of Cortes or his party of cavalry, we suspected some misfortune. Alvarado, De Oli, Tapia, I, and some more therefore went in search of him, towards that part whither we saw them go, and we soon met two of his servants, who informed us of what had happened. In a short time Cortes came up to us; he was very sad, and weeping.

When we arrived at our quarters at Tacuba it rained heavily, and we remained under it for two hours in some large enclosed courts. The general, with his captains, the treasurer, our reverend father, and many others of us, mounted to the top of the temple which commanded all the lake, and afforded a most surprising and pleasing spectacle, from the multitude of cities rising as it were out of the water, and the innumerable quantity of boats employed in fishing, or rapidly passing to and fro. All of us agreed in giving glory to God, for making us the instruments of rendering such services: the reverend father also consoled Cortes, who was very sad on account of his late loss. When we con-

templated the scenes of what had happened to us in Mexico, and which we could well trace from where we stood, it made Cortes much more sad than before. It was on this that the romance was written which begins,

"In Tacuba was Cortes, with many a gallant chief,
He thought upon his losses, and bowed his head with grief."

One of our soldiers, the bachelor Alonzo Perez, who was afterwards fiscal near Mexico, in order to console him, observed, that those things were the common fortune of war, and that they could not at present compare him to Nero viewing Rome on fire. Cortes answered that he was only sad from the reflection of the dangers and fatigues that we should have to go through, but that he would shortly put his hand to the business. Our captains and soldiers now consulted, whether it would not be eligible to take a view of the causeway, but it was thought not prudent, and we continued our march by Escapuzalco, which was abandoned, to Tenayuca, where, in the great temple, they worshipped three serpents. From this place, which was also abandoned, we proceeded to Guatitlan, and during the whole days march it never ceased raining; whereby, together with the weight of our arms, we came in dreadfully fatigued.

The enemy gave us some alarms in the night, during which it rained heavily, no watch being kept by us on account of the severity of the weather, as I can testify, my post not having been visited either by rounds or corporal. Marching through four or five towns which were abandoned, by a road deep in mud, we arrived in two days more at Aculman in the district of Tezcuco, where we found that a reinforcement to our army had newly arrived from Castille. On the next day we proceeded to Tezcuco, and arrived fatigued, worn out, and diminished in numbers.

A conspiracy against the life of Cortes was at this time formed, by an adherent of the governor of Cuba, one Anthonio de Villafana, native of Zamora or of Toro, and some

of the other soldiers of Narvaez, whose names I will not mention. The assassination was to have been executed in the following manner. A vessel having lately arrived from Castille, a letter was to be brought to the general, as from his father, and as if it had come by that opportunity; which letter was to be delivered as he sat at table with his officers and soldiers, and when he had opened, and was in the act of reading it, the conspirators were to fall on and assassinate him with their poinards, together with all of us who were in his company. When every thing was arranged, the conspirators communicated their intentions to two principal persons whom I will not name, but who had been on the expedition with us, one of whom on the death of Cortes they meant to have appointed captain general. The offices of alguazil major, ensign, alcaldes, regidor, contador, treasurer, veedor, and others of this kind were to have been filled up from among the soldiers of Narvaez, and they had divided amongst them our properties and horses. The business was discovered two days after our arrival at Tezcuco, by God's mercy, who did not chuse that New Spain should have been so lost; for if we had been put to death, all would have fallen into confusion and faction.

It seems a faithful soldier made the discovery to Cortes, who immediately took proper steps to prevent the mischief from spreading, for he understood it to be conducted by persons of quality. As soon as it was made clear to him, he gave large rewards for the information. He then communicated it to all our captains, namely, Alvarado, De Lugo, De Oli, Sandoval, and Tapia, also to me, and to the two Alcaldes of that year, Luis Marin, and Pedro de Ircio; in short to all of his party. As soon as we knew of it we prepared ourselves, and attended Cortes to the quarters of Villafana, where we found him and many others of the conspirators. The four alguazils seized Villafana; the others attempted to escape by flight, but Cortes ordered them to be detained, and some of them he committed to prison. Cortes then took

from the bosom of Villafana a paper, with the signatures of those who were concerned with him, in consideration for whom however, he caused the report to be circulated, that it had been swallowed by Villafana, without his having seen it. He was immediately put upon his trial, but voluntarily made a confession, according to which, and to the testimony of many witnesses, he was condemned by his judges, the two alcaldes, conjointly with Cortes, and De Oli who sat by virtue of his office. Shortly after his condemnation, having confessed himself to the reverend Father Juan Diaz, he was hanged from a window of the apartment.

Of the several others who were arrested, no more were proceeded against; enough having been done for example and intimidation. Cortes however to prevent such attempts in future thought it prudent to appoint a guard for his person, composed of valiant and faithful soldiers. They were selected from those who had been with him from the first, and were commanded by a gentleman named Anthonio de Quinones. Henceforward, although he showed great attention to those who had been in the conspiracy, and treated them in the best manner, he took care to be on his guard with them.

At this time came out an order for all the prisoners to be brought to an appointed place, in order to be marked. Not to take up time with repetitions of the story I will sum up all in one observation which is, that if what was ill done the first time, was worse done the second, this third was worst of all; for after the royal fifth had been drawn out, Cortes took his own, and then came no less than thirty successive drafts for the captains. Besides, those handsome and good female prisoners which we put in to be marked were stolen out of the crowd, and were kept concealed until it was no longer inconvenient to produce them.

The brigantines were now finished, and the canal brought to a sufficient width and depth to float them to the lake. Cortes therefore issued a circular notice to all the districts of

our alliance in the neighbourhood of Tezcuco, to send him each within the space of the next eight days, eight thousand arrow heads made of copper; also an equal number of shafts, of a particular wood. By the expiration of the given time the whole number was brought, executed to a degree of perfection which exceeded the pattern. Captain P. Barba who commanded the crossbow-men ordered each of his soldiers to provide themselves with two cords and nuts, and to prove the range of their bows, for one of the last ships which came from Castille had brought out a supply of the materials to make cords, and also of powder. Cortes ordered the cavalry to have their lances well pointed, and to use their horses to daily exercise; and he at this time sent an express to Xicotenga the elder, otherwise Don Lorenzo de Vargas, for twenty thousand of the warriors of his nation, and those of Guaxocingo and Cholula; and he sent similar notices to Chalco and Talmalanco, summoning them to a general rendezvous, on the day after the feast of the Holy Ghost, at which time Don Hernando our ally of Tezcuco was also to join us with all his forces.

On the day after the festival of the Holy Ghost, Cortes inspected his army in the large quadrangles of Tezcuco. They amounted to eighty four cavalry, six hundred and fifty infantry with sword and buckler or lances, and one hundred and ninety four musqueteers and crossbow-men. Out of this number he took for the service of his fleet twelve of the musqueteers or crossbow-men, and twelve of the other infantry for rowers, under the command of a captain, to each vessel; he also distributed twenty cannoniers through the whole fleet, which he armed with what guns fit for this service we had in our stores.

Having thus distributed his force, Cortes gave the following orders. First, no person to utter any blasphemy against our Lord Jesus Christ, the Holy Virgin his mother, the Holy Apostles, nor any other of the saints, under heavy penalties. Second, no soldier to ill treat our allies in their persons or

properties. Third, no soldier to absent himself from his quarters on any pretence. Fourth, every soldier to be fully provided with arms offensive and defensive. Fifth, no soldier to stake his horse or arms at gaming. Sixth, no soldier to sleep out of armour, or without his weapons beside him, except in case of wounds or sickness. Lastly, penalty of death for sleeping on, or absence from a centinels post, absence from quarters without leave, quitting the ranks in the field, or flight in battle.

Although a number of our people had served as sailors before, there was a great averseness on the present occasion among them to act as rowers. The general was therefore obliged to make enquiry, and considering all those who belonged to, or were natives of Palos, Moguer, Triano, El Puerto, or any other seaport, or who had been known to have been employed in fishing, as being of the profession, he ordered them to the oars, and although many of these brought their gentility as an objection, he would not hear of it, but enforced his orders; by which he obtained one hundred and fifty, who were, as it will appear in the sequel, better situated than any of us who had to bear the weight and dangers of the field. The crews being embarked, each brigantine hoisted a royal standard, and also its peculiar one. The general then appointed the captains as follows: Garci Holguin, Pedro Barba, Juan de Limpias Carvajal the deaf, Juan Xaremillo, Geronymo Ruiz de la Mora, Carvajal his companion who is now very old and lives in the street of St. Francis, one Portillo, a good soldier with an handsome wife, Zamora, master of a ship, now living in Guaxaca, Colmenero a mariner and brave soldier, Lerma, Gines Nortes, Briones native of Salamanca, another whose name I have forgotten, and Miguel diaz de Auz. To these he gave instructions how they were to act, and with what officers of the land forces they were to cooperate.

At this time arrived the army of our allies of Tlascala under the command of the younger Xicotenga. He brought

with him his two brothers. In this army also came some of the warriors of Cholula, and Guaxocinga, but not in any considerable number. The alacrity of the whole body appeared in their arrival a day previous to that appointed; they advanced in great parade, each chief having a standard with their national device, a white spread eagle, embroidered upon it. They entered the town in high spirits, shouting "Castilla! Castilla! Tlascala! Tlascala! live the Emperor!" and it was about three hours from the time of the arrival of their advanced party, until the rear had come in. Cortes, with many compliments, dismissed them to their quarters, and promising to make them all rich on their return to their native country. We now heard that the Mexicans had put to death three of our soldiers who had been left by Pizarro to search for mines, one only, named Barrientos, escaping to Chinanta, where he was protected.

Our general made his disposition for the attack upon the city of Mexico as follows.

Pedro de Alvarado, with one hundred and fifty infantry, thirty cavalry, eighteen musqueteers and crossbow-men, and eight thousand Tlascalans was to take post at Tacuba, having to assist him Jorge de Alvarado his brother, Gutierre de Badajos, and Andres de Monjaras, each of whom was captain of a company, consisting of fifty infantry, and a third of the crossbow-men and musqueteers, the cavalry being commanded by Alvarado in person. To this detachment I was appointed.

Christoval de Oli, having under him the captains Andres de Tapia, Francisco Verdugo, Francisco de Lugo, thirty cavalry, one hundred and seventy five infantry, twenty musqueteers and crossbow-men, and eight thousand Indians was to take post at Cuyoacan, and Gonzalo de Sandoval, with captains Luis Marin and P. de Ircio, at the head of twenty four cavalry, one hundred and fifty infantry, fourteen musqueteers and crossbow-men, and upwards of eight thousand Indians was to take his post at Iztapalapa. The two first named di-

visions were to march by the right, the third in the opposite direction. Sandovals party had also orders not to march, until Cortes who commanded the flotilla in person should launch out upon the lake.

I must now advert to another affair which happened at this time. The divisions of the two captains in chief Alvarado and De Oli being prepared to set out, in order not to be incumbered with our Indian allies on the march, we sent them off one day before us, with orders to halt and wait for our arrival when they came upon the Mexican territory. The Tlascalans pursuing their march, Chichimacatecle remarked the absence of the younger Xicotenga, the commander in chief. On enquiring it was found that he had secretly gone away on the preceding night to Tlascala, there to seize and possess himself of the property and territory of Chichimacatecle, thinking this a good opportunity, in the absence of that chief and of the other warriors of his nation, and fearing no opposition since the death of Maxicatzin. His disinclination to the expedition had also been apparent from the first. Chichimacatecle, on discovering the design against him, immediately returned to Tezcuco to inform Cortes, who on hearing it dispatched five of the chiefs of Tezcuco and two of Tlascala after Xicotenga, with a message from him to request his return. His answer was, that if Maxicatzin and his old father had believed him, they would not be now ridden by Cortes in the manner they were, and he absolutely refused to return. This answer being sent back to Cortes, he commanded an alguazil attended by four of the cavalry and five chiefs of Tezcuco, to set out immediately, giving them orders, wherever they found Xicotenga, to seize and hang him without ceremony. Alvarado interceded strongly for him, but ultimately to no purpose, for although Cortes appeared to listen to him, the party which arrested Xicotenga in a town subject to Tezcuco, there hung him under private orders of Cortes not to let him go from them alive, and as some say with the approbation of his father.

This affair detained us one day, and on the next, the two detachments of Alvarado and De Oli marched by the same route, and halted for the night, in a place subject to Tezcuco named Aculma. Here a disagreeable affair had like to have taken place. It appeared that De Oli had sent forward to take quarters, and had appropriated every house in the town to his own company, marking them by putting green branches on the terraces, so that when Alvarado's detachment arrived, we had not a place to lodge in. Our soldiers immediately stood to their arms to fight those of De Oli, and the two captains had already challenged each other, but several of the more moderate officers interfering, they were pacified for the present. An express was immediately sent to Cortes, who wrote to every one of any influence amongst our detachments, condemning the steps which had been taken, and earnestly recommending a reconciliation. After this Alvarado and De Oli never were friends.

We continued our march for two days more, by Mexican cities which were abandoned, the last of which was Guatitlan; and on the third, passing the towns of Tenayuca and Escapuzalco where we found our allies [1] waiting for us, we proceeded to Tacuba.

The enemy gave notice by their noises that they were about us in great numbers, and our two detachments, it was settled, should on the ensuing day go to cut the aqueduct of Chapultepeque. At the time appointed, we set out with our allies, and though the enemy attacked us in our march, we succeeded, destroying the pipes, so that from that day, no more fresh water came to Mexico. It was now determined to try our fortune against the city, and see if we could not at least get possession of a bridge upon the causeway of Tacuba. When we arrived there, the immense number of boats, and of their troops on the land, was a subject of astonishment. By the first volley of their arrows they killed three and wounded thirty of our soldiers; nevertheless we advanced to

[1] The whole number of whom amounted to seventy thousand.

the bridge, the enemy, as it were by stratagem, receding, and now we were upon a causeway twenty feet wide, exposed as a butt to the arrows of those on the water on both our flanks. Our musquetry and crossbows had no effect whatever on their canoes they were so well protected; as to the cavalry their horses were all wounded, and if they pursued the enemy a little distance on the causeway, they were stopped by the parapets which they had built across it, and which they defended with long lances; and when our infantry advanced against them in front, the enemy threw themselves into the water. Thus we were fighting them for upwards of an hour, their numbers increasing from every part of the lake, and our allies only encumbering the causeway. Being utterly unable to resist the enemy who were on the water we determined to retire, which we did, leaving eight dead and having above fifty wounded, the enemy pursuing us closely.

On the ensuing day, Captain De Oli proceeded with his detachment for Cuyoacan; he talked in terms of disapprobation of the preceding expedition, laying the blame on the rashness of Alvarado. We all were solicitous that the two captains should remain together, and certainly their separation was very imprudent, for had the enemy known the smallness of our number, they would have fallen on and destroyed either detachment, during the four or five days that we were separated, and before the arrival of Cortes with the flotilla. In these two positions our detachments remained for the above period, without venturing to pay another visit to the Mexican causeways. During this time the enemy frequently sent bodies of their troops to the main land, and annoyed us with attacks in our quarters.

Sandoval with his detachment left Tezcuco on the fourth day after the feast of Corpus Christi, and marching through a friendly country, arrived in front of the town of Iztapalapa. On his arrival he immediately attacked the enemy in that place, and burned many of the houses which were built on

the firm ground; but fresh bodies of Mexicans came both by land and water to their relief, and while thus occupied, our troops observed a smoke to rise from the top of a hill above the town, which was answered in the same manner at other points round the lake, and this we found to be a signal for the information of the enemy, that our flotilla was launched; a circumstance which occasioned them to relax in their hostilities against Sandoval. He now remained unmolested in his insulated situation, in a part of the town of Iztapalapa, between which and Cuyoacan there were no means of communication but by a causeway which crosses the lake, and the passage of which was impracticable in the face of the enemy.

Cortes when he brought his flotilla upon the lake, first went to attack a rock which forms a small island just by Mexico, and on which many of the natives as well of that neighbourhood as of other parts had taken refuge. As soon as the enemy discovered his intention, their whole force from every part of the lake proceeded against him. When our general perceived the immense number of large boats full of fighting men, for it exceeded four thousand, he drew his flotilla into an open part of the lake, and ordered his captains to wait patiently for a breeze of wind which was just then beginning to spring up. The enemy thinking this was owing to fear, began to close round him with great triumph, and just at this moment the wind rising in his favor, the whole fleet set sail, plying their oars at the same time; bearing down upon the Mexican canoes in this manner, they sunk a number of them, and compelled the rest to take shelter in the recesses on the sides of the lake.

After this Cortes sailed for Cuyoacan. Here he had another attack by the Mexicans, who assailed his vessels from the temples on the land, as well as with their canoes; but he brought four guns to bear upon them, and did considerable execution; although, by some mismanagement of the gunners, his powder magazine blew up, wounding many of

his people. This misfortune obliged him to detach his lightest vessel to Sandoval for a supply. At Cuyoacan he remained with the flotilla for two days, and here I will leave him to relate what passed in the detachment of Alvarado. When we perceived that the flotilla was upon the lake, we marched out upon the causeway as far as the bridge, where we passed our time in a repetition of engagements with the enemy, but to little effect, farther than repairing the passes in our rear as we advanced, nor did we now suffer the cavalry to come to the causeway.

Sandoval had found that in his present position he could not sufficiently annoy the enemy, who were established in the houses built in the water; he therefore advanced by a causeway to a place which commanded them better. This being perceived from Mexico, a large detachment was sent in canoes, with directions to cut the causeway behind our troops. Cortes observing this set sail with his vessels for their relief, ordering De Oli to go thither with a body of troops by the causeway. Having relieved Sandoval, the general ordered this detachment to a place named Tepeaquilla, where is now built the church of Nuestra Senora de Guadelupe, in which many wonderful miracles have been, and are, performed.

As it was impossible for our troops to advance upon the causeways without their flanks being secured on the water, the flotilla was formed into three divisions, and one of them attached to each of the three corps of our army; that is to say, four ships to Alvarado, six to De Oli, and two to Sandoval, making in all twelve, for the thirteenth, named "Busca Ruido, or follow the noise," being found to be too small, was ordered to be laid up, and her crew divided among the rest, as we had twenty very badly wounded already on board the ships. Alvarado now ordered us out upon the causeway, and placing two of the ships on each side, he thereby protected the flanks. We drove the enemy from several bridges and barricades, but after fighting during the whole day, we were obliged at night to retreat to our quarters, almost every

man of us wounded by the showers of arrows and stones, which exceeded imagination; for we were attacked constantly by fresh troops bearing different devices, by land, while from the terraces of the houses, the enemy commanded our ships. As we could not leave a party to secure what we got in the day, at night the enemy repossessed themselves of the bridges, and put better defences on them. They deepened the water in some places, and in the shallow part they dug pits, and placed canoes in ambuscade, which they secured from the attacks of our vessels by pallisades under the water. This was the manner in which they opposed us every day. The cavalry as I before observed could do nothing; the enemy had built parapets across the causeways which they defended with long lances, and even had an attack been practicable, the soldiers would not risk their horses, which at this time cost eight hundred crowns, and some more than one thousand; nor indeed were they to be had at any price.

When we arrived at night, we were employed in curing our wounds, and a soldier named Juan Catalan also healed them by charms and prayers, which, with the mercy of our Lord Jesus, recovered us very fast. But wounded or not, we were obliged to go against the enemy every day, as otherwise our companies would not have been twenty men strong. When our allies saw that the before mentioned soldier cured us by charms and prayers, all their wounded came to him, so that he had more business on his hands than he knew what to do with. Every day our ensign was disabled, not having it in his power to carry the colours, and defend himself. Corn we had sufficiency of, but we wanted refreshments for the wounded. What preserved us was the plant called "quilites," cherries while in season, and "tunas" or Indian figs. The situation of our other parties round the lake was similar to what I have here described.

The enemy in the city rushed out on the signal being made from the top of the great temple of Taltelulco; and these attacks were made every day, and repeated by fresh troops,

who were formed and marched out in succession. Finding that we gained so little and lost so much, we resolved to change our plan of operations. There was on our causeway a small open place, where were some buildings for religious worship; here we established a post, and lodged ourselves, though very badly, as every shower of rain came in upon us, leaving our cavalry and Indian allies to secure our rear in Tacuba, from which place we were supplied with bread. From this time, as we advanced, we filled the water cuts which intersected the causeway, and prostrated the houses which were on each side of it; for it was exceeding difficult to set them on fire, nor could the flames communicate from one to another, on account of the water which was between them, and if we threw ourselves into the water to swim to a house, the enemy destroyed us from their terrasses. We guarded every pass day and night as we gained it, and our method of keeping guard was as follows.

The company which was first for duty took it from sun set to midnight with forty men; the second company with the same number came on at midnight, and remained until two hours before day break, the first guard not quitting the post, but sleeping on the ground; this second guard watched the hours of lethargy, and after them came on the third company for the two hours until day, at which time, as those who were relieved did not quit the post, there were an hundred and twenty men at the guard. Sometimes our whole detachment remained under arms during the night, for our prisoners had informed us that it was the intention of the Mexicans, by a great effort, to force our post, as they knew that by so doing they would entirely disconcert the plans of the other two; and it was intended that the nine towns in and about the lake, including ours of Tacuba, together with Ezcapuzalco and Tenayuca, should make a joint effort, and attack us in the rear while the Mexicans attacked us in front. It was at the same time intended to carry off our luggage and bakery in Tacuba. This intelligence we immediately communicated to

our cavalry, warning them and our allies to be well on their guard.

As we had been informed, so it happened; we were attacked for several nights in succession, from midnight to the break of day. The enemy sometimes came on with great noise, at others stole upon us in silence, but during the night their attacks were never made with so much resolution as in the day. We were however harrassed to death with wounds, fatigues, wind, rain, and cold. The place where we were posted was now mud and water, and our miserable food of maize, and herbs withall! but, as our officers said, such is the fortune of war! with all our sufferings nothing effectual was gained: the parapets we threw down, or the ditches we filled up during the day, the enemy replaced in the ensuing night. What use was our cutting off their water, or closing their causeways against them, when they were supplied by canoes with whatever they wanted from the neighbouring towns on the lake? In order to prevent this, it was determined that two of our vessels should cruise during the night, to intercept them. This was found to answer in a considerable degree, but still some escaped into the city.

The Mexicans had the boldness at this time to form a plan for the surprise of these vessels. For this purpose they prepared thirty of their largest piraguas, and concealed them among reeds, sending two or three canoes along the lake, as if conveying provisions, by way of a bait for our vessels. The Mexicans had also fixed piles of large timber below the water, in the direction which our ships were to be drawn in. The canoes being perceived by our people, two vessels sallied out upon them; the others appeared to take fright, and rowed towards the ambuscade, followed by our vessels, which as soon as they arrived near enough, were surrounded by the thirty piraguas. By the first discharge they wounded every officer, soldier, and rower, on board; and the vessels could not stir on account of the piles of timber. The enemy continuing their attacks, killed a captain named Portilla; he was

a gentleman who had served in Italy. Captain Pedro Barba also of the crossbow-men died of his wounds, and the vessels fell into their hands. These belonged to the principal division, which Cortes commanded; he was much exasperated, but in the course of a short time repayed them well in their own way.

Cortes as also our other chiefs, by his order, pursued their plan of advancing against the city. As they gained ground, they threw down the houses, and with the materials filled up the ditches or canals which crossed the causeways; and our brave Tlascalan allies rendered us the greatest services, during the whole war. The Mexicans opposed our progress by breaking a bridge in the rear of their parapets and barricades, where the water was very deep, leaving one obvious pass as a decoy, and in other parts, pit falls under the water; they also made parapets on both sides of the breach, they placed palisades in the deep water where our vessels could approach, and they had canoes manned ready to sally out upon the signal given. When they had made these preparations they advanced against us in three bodies, one by the side of Tacuba, the other by the ruins of the houses which had been destroyed, and the third by the causeway, where they had made the works. Alvarado had brought part of his cavalry to our post, since the houses were destroyed. We repulsed the enemy on all sides, and one party of us having forced them from the work I have mentioned, crossed the water, up to our necks, at the pass they had left open, and followed them, until we came to a place where were large temples and towers of idols. Here we were assailed by fresh troops from the houses and roofs, and those whom we pursued faced about and came against us. We were obliged to retreat, which we did with regularity, but when we came to the water, we found that the enemy in their canoes had got possession of the pass where we had crossed. We were therefore obliged to look for other places, but as they came pressing on us, we were at length compelled to throw our-

selves into the lake and get over as we could. Those who were not able to swim fell into the pits; the enemy closed in upon them, wounded most, and took five of our soldiers alive. The vessels which came to our relief could not approach, being embarrassed among the palisades, and here they lost two soldiers. It was a wonder that we were not all destroyed in the pit falls; a number of the enemy laid hands on me, but our Lord Jesus Christ gave me force to disengage my arm, and by dint of a good sword, I got free from them, though wounded, and arrived on the dry ground, where I fainted away, and remained senseless for a time. This was owing to my great exertions, and loss of blood. When this mob had their claws on me, I recommended myself to our Lord and his blessed mother, and they heard my prayer, glorified be they for all their mercies! one of our cavalry crossed the water with us this day; he and his horse were killed. Fortunately, the rest were with Alvarado in Tacuba; had they been with us they must have been all destroyed from the tops of the buildings, for the action took place as it were within the very city. After this success the enemy kept us constantly employed during the day and night, by attacks upon our posts. Cortes was much dissatisfied at hearing of our defeat, which he considered as owing to our neglect of his directions that the cuts across the causeways should be filled with timber and sods as we advanced.

In the space of four days, and with the loss of six soldiers, we completely filled up this great aperture, and here we established our advanced post, the enemy having one opposite to us. Their method of keeping guard was this; they made a great fire in their front, which concealed them from our view, except when they came to renew the fire, as it was sometimes extinguished by the rains, which were at that season frequent and heavy. They kept profound silence on guard, nor was it ever interrupted except by their signals, which were given by a whistle. Our shot did no execution among them, for they fortified their post by a parapet and a

new ditch. Having described the manner in which guard was kept on each side, I will now give an account of our daily employment. In the morning we marched against the enemy; after engaging them during the whole day we retreated, towards evening, covered with wounds, first clearing the causeway of our allies whose numbers embarrassed us, a circumstance the enemy were watchful to take advantage of; after which we fell back step by step, firing at the enemy as they advanced, and being flanked by the armed vessels, until we reached our post. When we arrived in our quarters we sat down to our misery of maize cakes, herbs, and tunas, curing our wounds with oil, and remaining all night subject to constant alarms.

Cortes and his party were employed in the same manner, and his loss in killed and wounded was by this time become very considerable. He constantly sent out vessels at night to scour the lake, and one night they brought in to him some prisoners of consequence; from them he learned that the enemy had formed an ambuscade similar to their former one, of forty piraguas and the same number of canoes. Cortes then prepared six vessels, and sent them during the night, and with muffled oars, to a place of concealment within a quarter of a leagues distance of that of the enemy. It must be observed that the bushes and tall reeds, and the water cuts at the edges of the lake, favored those deceptions. Early in the morning one of our vessels was sent as if in search of the Mexican canoes which went with provisions to the city, the prisoners being put on board it in order to point out the place where their flotilla was concealed. The enemy also played off the deception of loaded canoes to draw us thither, and these canoes pretending to endeavor to escape, rowed towards the ambuscade laid by their party; our vessel pursued them very near it, and then brought to, as if from apprehension. The enemy's flotilla perceiving that she did not advance, sallied out on her, those on board of her rowing towards that part where our ships were concealed. When

SCENE OF NAVAL ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE SPANIARDS AND AZTECS ON LAKE NEAR THE CITY OF MEXICO.

they found that the enemy were brought to that point where we wished them to be, the crew fired two shots as a signal to our ambuscade, immediately on which the vessels pushed out, and falling on the enemy ran down several, and dispersed the rest, making a number of prisoners. This gave them enough of ambuscades, nor did they from that time run across to Mexico so openly as before.

The people of the cities in the lake growing tired of this warfare, waited on Cortes at this time in order to make submission, declaring that they had been forced into hostility by the Mexicans. Cortes received them with affability, gave them assurances of protection according to their behaviour, and at the same time told them that he expected their assistance in the supply of boats and provisions, and in erecting barracks for the troops. This they promised readily, but performed very badly. Cortes had huts built for his detachment, but the rest remained exposed to the weather, a very severe duty in itself in that climate, where during the months of June, July, and August, it rains continually.

Our detachment persevered in filling up every ditch and canal as we proceeded with the materials of the houses which we destroyed; and constantly gained temples, bridges, or houses which stood separate from each other, and were accessible by draw-bridges only. To prevent jealousy, the companies took the working and covering parties alternately, and towards evening, when we drew off, the whole stood to their arms, and retreated, sending our Indian allies before us. The latter rendered us most important assistance in the working duty, both in pulling down the houses, and filling the apertures. Sandoval during this time was obliged to sustain constant attacks, and Cortes on his side attacked one of the out posts of the city, where the canal which crossed the causeway was too deep to be forded. The enemy had fortified it strongly, and defended it both by land and water. Cortes commanded the attack in person, and with success; but at night he was obliged to retire without filling the ditch,

and with the loss of four Spaniards killed and above thirty wounded, for the pass was commanded from the terraces, and the pallisades made in the water prevented the approach of the vessels.

Guatimotzin now determined to wear us out by continual efforts. Accordingly, on the twenty first of June, the anniversary of the day of our entry into Mexico, the enemy attacked us at every point with their whole force by land and water, at the hour of the second sleep, or of lethargy, that is two hours before day. The number fit for duty at our post was one hundred and twenty; our allies we had sent entirely off the causeway, and it was with our utmost efforts that we could resist the enemy; we at length however repulsed them from all our posts, but with the loss of many killed and wounded. Alvarado's detachment lost two soldiers on this occasion. The enemies attacks were continued for two nights successively upon the different posts, and they afterwards concentrated their whole force in an assault upon ours, which took place at day break. This was the most desperate of all; if our allies had been with us we should have been lost. Our cavalry on this occasion saved our flanks, and we had considerable support from our ships. Eight of our soldiers were killed in this attack, and Alvarado was wounded; but we ultimately beat the enemy off, and also made four of their chiefs prisoners. I fear to tire my readers with this repetition of battles. For ninety three days together were we employed in the siege of this great and strong city, and every day and every night we were engaged with the enemy. Of course they must pardon what my duty as an historian compels me to relate; still were I to extend my narrative to include every action which took place, it would be almost endless, and my history would resemble that of Amadis, and the other books of chivalry.

Cortes growing weary of delay, called a council of war, relative to a general assault upon the city. His plan was, to march by the three causeways, and to endeavour to gain the

great square, where, uniting our whole force, we should command all the streets leading to it. Upon this proposal there was a great difference of opinion, for many thought our present method of proceeding by filling the canals as we advanced, destroying the houses, and making a road with the materials, was preferable to that recommended by Cortes, whereby, in going into the heart of the city, we should become the besieged instead of being the besiegers, and fall exactly into the situation in which we were when obliged to fly from Mexico. We should also they said be involved in greater difficulties than formerly, for the enemy would now bring their whole power by land and water upon us, so that we should have to contend with them in the city, on the lake, and all round it, without the possibility of retreat, which they could preclude by cutting the causeways. When Cortes had heard the opinions of all, and the good reasons upon which they were founded, the result was, that he gave orders for our whole force, together with our allies, to attack the city on the ensuing day, and to get possession of the great square.

On the next morning therefore, having heard mass, and recommending ourselves to God, our three detachments marched against the enemy's posts in their front. Those commanded by Cortes and Sandoval met with less violent opposition than that which fell to the lot of the division of Alvarado, to which I belonged. In our attack upon the first dike, most of the Spaniards received wounds, one was killed, and above one thousand of our allies killed or wounded. Cortes at first bore down all before him, and having driven the enemy from a post where the water was very deep and the causeway very narrow, he was induced to pursue them in their retreat to the city, his Indian allies crouding close after the Spaniards. The enemy induced him by frequent halts and feigned attacks to continue the pursuit, and the causeway had been narrowed, to answer their design. It was the will of our Lord that Cortes and his captains

should be so negligent as to omit filling the ditch, which they had passed. The causeway was also in some parts covered with water, and deep in mud. When the enemy saw our Cortes thus run into the trap which they had laid, multitudes in canoes sallied out against him and took him on his flanks and rear, his own vessels not being able to approach on account of the pallisadoes. It became now necessary for the troops to retreat, which they did at first with great regularity, but when they came to the narrow pass I have before mentioned, the difficulty of the ground, with the fury of the attack, from a retreat turned it into a race, our people flying before the enemy without attempting to defend themselves. Our Cortes used every exertion to rally them but in vain; he received a wound in the leg from the enemy on board the canoes at the pass, where they killed six of our horses, and carried off seventy two Spaniards alive. Six chiefs seized upon Cortes, but it was the will of God that he should escape, for that valiant soldier Christoval de Olea, seeing his general's danger, flew to his assistance, as did another brave man named Lerma. Olea with his own hand killed four of the six Mexican chiefs, gallantly losing his own life in defence of his general, and Lerma escaped with the greatest difficulty. Other soldiers now arrived to the assistance of our Cortes; amongst the number was Quinones captain of his guards. They took him out of the water in their arms, and placing him on a horse, hurried him off from the crowd of enemies, and shortly after, his major domo named Christoval de Guzman brought one of his own horses for him. The enemy followed up their attack with ardour, and the unfortunate Guzman being seized by them was carried alive to Mexico. Cortes and the shattered remains of his troops, pursued to the last, arrived with great difficulty at their quarters, where I will leave them for the present, to relate what happened in the division commanded by Alvarado.

After our first attack, wherein we defeated the enemy, as

we were advancing, we were met by fresh troops in great parade, bearing plumes of feathers, and devices on their standards. When we came near them they threw down before us five bleeding heads, crying out to us that they were those of Cortes and his officers, and that we should meet the same fate with our companions; they then marched up, and fighting us foot to foot, compelled us to retreat. We as usual called to our allies to clear the way for us, but in the present case there was no occasion; the sight of the bloody heads had done it effectually, nor did one of them remain on the causeway to impede our retreat. Before we arrived at our quarters, and while the enemy were pursuing us, we heard their shrill timbals, and the dismal sound of the great drum, from the top of the principal temple of the god of war, which overlooked the whole city. Its mournful noise was such as may be imagined the music of the infernal gods, and it might be heard at the distance of almost three leagues. They were then sacrificing the hearts of ten of our companions to their idols. Shortly after this the king of Mexico's horn was blown, giving notice to his captains that they were then to take their enemies prisoners, or die in the attempt. It is impossible to describe the fury with which they closed upon us when they heard this signal. Though all is as perfect to my recollection as if passing before my eyes, it is utterly beyond my power to describe; all I can say is, it was God's will that we should escape from their hands, and get back to safety to our post. Praised be he for his mercies, now, and at all other times!

Our cavalry made several charges this day, but our great support was in two guns which raked the causeway, and were commanded by a gentleman named Pedro Moreno de Medrano, who always bore a high reputation as an officer, but whose services on this day were most important, for the whole causeway was crouded with the enemy. We were as yet ignorant of the fate of our other detachments. Sandoval was above half a league distant, and Cortes still farther.

The melancholy sight of the remains of our countrymen, and the loss of one of our vessels, three of the soldiers of which the enemy had killed, impressed our minds with despair, and we thought this the last hour of our lives. The vessel was afterwards recovered by that commanded by Captain Juan Xaramillo. Captain Juan de Limpias Caravajal, who now lives in La Puebla, a most gallant officer, had the honor of being the first who with his vessel broke through the enemies pallisades, totally losing his hearing, from this day, by excess of courage.

Cortes, most of whose soldiers had been killed, and what remained alive, wounded, was attacked in his quarters by a great body of the enemy, who threw over to him the heads of four of our companions, alledging them to be those of Alvarado, Sandoval, and others, in order to impress the soldiers of Cortes and our allies with the idea, that they had been equally successful against the other detachments. When Cortes beheld the horrid spectacle his heart sunk within him, but he kept up appearances, and ordering all to stand to their arms, made a front to the enemy. He then sent Andres de Tapia with three more mounted men to our quarters, in order to ascertain what the state of affairs was. In their way thither they were attacked by many bodies of the enemy, whom the king of Mexico had placed upon a plan of intercepting our communications. On their arrival they found us engaged with the Mexican forces. They at that time concealed the loss of Cortes, stating it at no more than five and twenty.

It is now necessary to advert to Sandoval, who had gone on victorious until the defeat of Cortes; after which the enemy turned on him, and in their first attack killed two soldiers and wounded all the rest, giving Sandoval himself three wounds, one of which was in the head. As they had done elsewhere, they threw before his troops six heads of their companions, recently taken off, threatening them with the like fate. Sandoval was not to be terrified; he warned his soldiers to preserve a good countenance, and seeing no

hopes of success brought his division back to their quarters, with many wounds it is true, but with the loss of only two of their number. Sandoval then, wounded as he was, leaving the command of his post to Captain Luis Marin, set out on horseback to have an interview with Cortes. As he went he was assailed by the enemy, but he arrived at the general's quarters, and addressing him in terms of surprise and condolance, asked him how this ill success had happened. "Son Sandoval" said Cortes, with tears in his eyes, "it is for my sins that this misfortune has befallen me; but the fault is with the treasurer Alderete, who was ordered by me to fill up the bad pass where the enemy threw us into confusion." The treasurer then exclaimed, that it was with Cortes himself the fault lay, he having never given any such orders, but hurrying on his men after the enemy in their feigned retreat, crying, "forward! gentlemen forward!" Cortes was also very much blamed for not having sent his allies out of the way early enough; however I will omit to detail any more of the conversation which passed at this time between Cortes and the treasurer, as it happened in the heat of anger and disappointment. Cortes was agreeably surprised by the arrival of two of his vessels which he had given up for lost, although he did not express himself so. Cortes desired Sandoval to go to our quarters at Tacuba, as he apprehended that the weight of the enemy's attack would fall upon this post, and recommended that he should pay attention to our affairs, as he himself was at present unable to do so. Sandoval setting out, arrived at Tacuba about the hour of vespers. He also found us as Tapia had done, occupied in repelling the enemy, some of whom were attacking us by the causeway, others by that of the ruined houses. I was at this time together with others of our soldiers up to my waist in the water defending a vessel which was aground, and engaged with the enemy who were endeavouring to get possession of her. Just as Sandoval arrived however, by a great effort we got the vessel afloat, but with the loss of two of the crew killed,

and every man on board wounded. The enemy now attacked us with more violence. Sandoval received a blow on the face with a stone, and called to us loudly to retreat; we not falling back as fast as he wished, he called again to us, asking if we wanted to have all the cavalry destroyed. We then retreated until we reached our post, during the time of which, our two guns, under the direction of Medrano, though they frequently swept the causeway, could not prevent the enemy from following us closely.

Here we were for a time at rest, and engaged in relating the events which had happened at each post, when on a sudden our ears were struck by the horrific sound of the great drum, the timbals, horns, and trumpets, in the temple of the war god. We all directed our eyes thither, and shocking to relate! saw our unfortunate countrymen driven by force, cuffs, and bastinades, to the place where they were to be sacrificed, which bloody ceremony was accompanied by the mournful sound of all the instruments of the temple. We perceived that when they had brought the unfortunate victims to the flat summit of the body of the temple, where were the adoratories, they put plumes upon their heads, and with a kind of fan in the hand of each, made them dance before their accursed idols. When they had done this, they laid them upon their backs, on the stone used for the purpose, where they cut out their hearts, alive, and having presented them, yet palpitating, to their gods, they drew the bodies down the steps by the feet, where they were taken by others of their priests. Let the reader think what were our sensations on this occasion. Oh heavenly God! said we to ourselves, do not suffer us to be sacrificed by these wretches! do not suffer us to die so cruel a death! and then how shocking a reflection, that we were unable to relieve our poor friends who were thus murdered before our eyes! at this moment the enemy assailed our post in great force, reviling us and saying their gods had promised us all to them. Our Indian allies sunk under the dreadful ideas they expressed, when

they threw among them also some of the mangled remains of their horrid feasts, other parts being sent round all the neighbouring districts, as a triumphant memorial. We still however maintained possession of our post, one half of our cavalry being on the causeway and the other half in the town.

Our new allies on the lake had suffered considerably by the enemy, having lost half their canoes, but they continued firm to us, from animosity to them, or contented themselves with being mere lookers on, and did not molest us. Cortes in consequence of our losses ordered a cessation of attacks, which lasted for the space of four days, during which we did not quit our posts, having lost near eighty men, and seven horses, in the last engagement. The enemy also gained ground on us, and made new ditches and water cuts, but we had a very deep and defensible one in front of our quarters. Sandoval and Tapia on their return to the general, reported to him the valiant manner in which our soldiers were behaving when they arrived at our post; Sandoval also mentioned me particularly, and said those things in my commendation, which, exclusive of the facts being known to our whole army, would not be proper to repeat of myself.

During this cessation, our whole force of infantry kept guard on the causeway at night, flanked by the brigantines, one half of the cavalry patroling in Tacuba, the other half on the causeway. In the morning we prepared to receive the enemy, who every day continued sacrificing our poor companions, and when they attacked, reviled us saying, that our flesh was too bitter to be eaten, and truly it seems that such a miracle was wrought. For five days together the enemy continued their assaults, being promised, as they said, our destruction, by their gods, within the space of eight days; but their gods as it appears to me, were perverse and treacherous to them, not permitting them to think of peace, and thus leading them to ruin. This language however, and the last menace in particular, had such an effect upon our allies, to-

gether with the bad appearance of our affairs, that they almost entirely deserted us in the course of a night. The only one who remained with Cortes, was, Suchel, otherwise Don Carlos, brother of Fernando lord of Tezcuco. He was a man of great bravery. His friends who staid by him amounted to about forty. With Sandoval remained the chief of Guaxocingo, with about fifty, and in ours the brave Chichimecatecle, the two sons of our friend D. Lorenzo de Vargas, and about eighty Tlascalans. Being questioned as to the flight of their countrymen they said, that the gods of the Mexicans had predicted our destruction; that they saw us all wounded, and many killed, that their own loss was above one thousand two hundred killed, and that the younger Xicotenga had from the first foretold that we should be all put to death; and therefore, considering us as lost, their countrymen had quitted us. Cortes though he thought what they said much too true, put on a chearful appearance, ridiculed the predictions of the enemy, and assured them that all would do well. He thereby was fortunate enough to induce the few who yet remained to stay with us to the last. The Indian Don Carlos, a brave and wise man now represented to Cortes the erroneous system on which he had acted, and also that which the situation of the enemy pointed out, advising him not to suffer his troops to fight. "Cut off" said he "their provisions and water; there are in Mexico so many Xiquipils of warriors, how can they subsist? their provisions must at some time be expended, the water which they get from the wells is salt, and they have no resource but from the frequent rains; fight them by hunger and thirst, and do not throw away your own force." Cortes embraced D. Carlos for his advice; not that the same had not occurred to many of us before, but we were too impatient.

Cortes began upon his new system, by sending orders to all the detachments to remain in their quarters for the next three days. As the enemy were so strong upon the lake, we always sent out two vessels in company; they had now

acquired the method of breaking through the pallisadoes by the force of oars and sails, when there was a good wind. Thus we were masters of the lake, and also of all the houses which were at any little distance from the city. This slackened the triumphs of the Mexicans. As our vessels broke through the enemy's pallisadoes, they could flank us while we carried on our work, filling the ditches in our front. This we effected at all our posts in the space of four days, Cortes himself carrying the beams and earth.

During each night of this period the enemy continued beating their accursed drum in the great temple; nothing can equal the dismal impression its sound conveyed. They were then in the execution of their infernal ceremonies; the whole place was illuminated, and their shrieks at certain intervals pierced the air. For ten nights together were they thus employed in putting to death our unfortunate companions; Christoval de Guzman was the last sacrificed; he was in their hands eighteen days; this we were informed by some of our prisoners, and for every sacrifice, we were told that their war god renewed to them the promise of victory. The enemy at times during the foregoing period brought our own crossbows against us, and made the unfortunate prisoners shoot them; but our post derived its safety from the excellent management of the two guns under P. M. Medrano, and we still advanced, gaining every day a bridge or a parapet. Our vessels also continually intercepted their canoes loaded with provision and water, also those which were employed in procuring that nutritive substance which when dry resembles cheese, and is found at the bottom of the lake. In this manner of proceeding twelve or thirteen days had now passed, our lives therefore exceeded the date allowed them by the prediction of the Mexican priests. This gave our allies courage, and in compliance with the requisition of our steady friend Suchel, two thousand warriors from Tezcuco returned to us. There came with them Captain Pedro Sanchez Farfan, and Anthonio de Villaroel, afterwards married to La Ojeda,

who had been left behind in Tezcuco. Many bodies also of our Tlascalan and other allies arrived about the same time. Cortes having summoned their chiefs, made them a speech, partly of reprimand and partly of hopes and promises, concluding it with an admonition to them not to put to death any of the Mexicans, as it was his wish to negociate for peace.

The heavy rains at this season of the year were much in our favor, the enemy always relaxing in their exertions when they came on. We had now advanced considerably into the city at each of the three attacks; we had also reached the fountains of brackish water, which we totally destroyed, and the cavalry could act through the whole space which we had gained, as it was our care to make it level for them.

Our general thought the present a good juncture to offer peace to the Mexicans; he therefore proposed to three of his principal prisoners to go with his message to their king, Guatimotzin, but they declined it, alledging that he would certainly put them to death. At length however he prevailed with them to carry his proposal, which was to this purport. That from the affection he bore to all the family of the great Montezuma, in order also to prevent the destruction of that great city, and the loss of lives, he was willing to treat of peace, calling to the recollection of Guatimotzin, that his troops and people were cut off from provisions and water, and that all those nations which had formerly been the vassals of Mexico were now the allies of the Spaniards; with many more strong arguments to the same purpose, which the embassadors very well understood. Previous to their going they desired that the general would provide them with a letter, under which authority they waited on the monarch, sobbing and wailing bitterly, as knowing the danger which attended their business. At first Guatimotzin and his chiefs appeared enraged, but the moderation of his disposition prevailed, and he resolved to call a council composed of the princes, chiefs, and priests of the city. Guatimotzin opened the business by expressing his own inclination to come

into terms, exposing the inefficacy of their resistance, the desertion of their allies, and the distresses of the people. The priests took the opposite opinion. They represented the conduct of the Spaniards from the first, their treatment of his uncle the great Montezuma, of Cacamatzin, and of various other princes as soon as they had got them in their power; also the death of the two sons of Montezuma, which they laid to their charge, the destruction and waste of the wealth of Mexico, and the marks of slavery with which they had branded other nations. They reminded him of his own martial fame and conduct, of the insidiousness of Cortes and his offers, and the promises of victory they had obtained from their gods. Guatimotzin then expressed his determination to fight to the last man and gave orders to spare the provisions as much as possible, to sink wells in various places, and to endeavour to obtain supplies by night.

Our army remained at their posts for two days quietly, expecting the answer from Mexico. We were then attacked at all points by great bodies of the enemy, who fell on us like lions, closing upon and endeavouring to seize us in their hands, whenever the horn of Guatimotzin was sounded. For seven days were we thus engaged, watching in a body during the night, at day break going into action, fighting during the day, and in the evening retiring to console ourselves with our misery of maize cakes, agi or pepper, tunas, and herbs. Our offer of peace only served for new matter for the enemy to revile us on, reproaching us as cowards, and saying, that peace was for women and arms for men.

It has been mentioned that the wretched remains of our countrymen were sent round to different provinces, to summon and encourage them to come to the aid of the Mexicans. In consequence, a force assembled from Matalzingo, Malinalco, and other places at the distance of eight leagues from Mexico, to fall on our rear, while the enemy from the city attacked us in front. When they had assembled as above mentioned, they began to commit outrages upon the country

between them and us, seizing the children in order to sacrifice. Complaints of this coming to Cortes, he detached Andres de Tapia with twenty cavalry and one hundred infantry against the enemy. This officer executed his mission completely, driving them back to their own country with loss.

Cortes then sent Sandoval to assist the people of the district called by us Cuernabaca, who were attacked in the same manner. There is much to say in respect to this expedition; too much indeed to be able to do justice to it without going into the details; suffice it that it was more peaceable than warlike, and of the happiest effect for us, Sandoval returning accompanied by two chiefs of the nation he had marched against. His return was very sudden, in order to protect our posts, which were in a most perilous way; for this draft had dismantled them, as he had with him every man really fit for duty, being twenty cavalry and eighty infantry. However he by his expedition saved both our allies and us.

Cortes now again sent an embassy to Guatimotzin, saying he had his Monarch's orders to save if possible that fine city; he reminded Guatimotzin of the distress of the wretched people, and to convince him that he had no hope from his allies, he sent the message by the two chiefs who accompanied Sandoval. The Mexican monarch returned no answer, except ordering the ambassadors immediately to quit the city. The enemy now increased every day the fury of their attacks; their expressions were, "Tenitoz re de Castilla! Tenitoz Axaca?" which means, "what says the king of Castille? what does he now?" We still continued advancing towards the heart of the city, and observed that notwithstanding the rage with which they assailed us, for it seemed as if they wished to meet their deaths, there was not so much movement among them as formerly, nor did they so busily employ themselves in opening the ditches. We also had cause for reflection of a less pleasant nature which was, that our powder was almost reduced to nothing. At this

moment most fortunately, arrived at the port of Villa Rica, a vessel with soldiers and ordnance stores, one of an armament fitted out by the Licentiate Lucas Vasquez de Aillon, which had been destroyed or dispersed near the Islands of Florida. The relief and reinforcement were immediately forwarded to Cortes, by his lieutenant, Rangel. It was now determined by Cortes and all the army to push for the great place or Taltelulco of the city, on account of the principal temples and strong buildings being there. Each of our detachments therefore advanced for the purpose. Cortes got possession of a small square at which were some temples; in those temples were beams whereon were placed the heads of many of our soldiers; their hair and beards had much grown; I could not have believed it had I not seen it with my own eyes in three days after, when our party had advanced near enough to get a view of them, after having filled two canals. I recognized the features of three of our friends, and the tears came into my eyes at the sight. In twelve days they were all buried by us in that which is now named the church of the martyrs.

The detachment of Alvarado continued to advance, and after an engagement of two hours forced the enemy from their barricades in the great square. The cavalry now rendered good service in the open space, and the enemy were driven before us into the temple of the war god. Alvarado divided his forces into three bodies, and while he occupied the attention of the enemy with two, he ordered the third, commanded by Gutierre de Badajoz, to drive them from, and take possession of the great temple. The enemy, headed by their priests, occupied the adoratories or sanctuaries of their idols, and repulsed our troops, driving them down the steps; which being observed by Alvarado, he then sent us to support them, and on our arrival, having ascended to the top, we completely drove the enemy from that post; having done which, we set fire to the images of their false gods, and planted our standard on the summit of the temple. The

view of this signal of victory rejoiced Cortes, who would fain have joined us, but he had it not in his power. He was then distant a quarter of a league, and had many ditches to fill as he advanced. In four days from this time, both he and Sandoval had worked their way to us, and the communications to the three posts were opened through the centre of the city of Mexico. This attack upon the temple was truly perilous; the edifice was very lofty, and the enemy numerous; and they continued to engage us on the flat ground at the summit, from the time that we had set fire to the idols and their adoratories, until night. The royal palaces were now levelled to the ground, Guatimotzin and his troops having retired to a quarter of the city more distant from the centre, and towards the lake.

Still they attacked us in the day, and at night pursued us to our quarters, and thus time passed over, and no proposition was made concerning peace. Our chiefs then proposed a plan of laying ambuscades. Thirty cavalry and one hundred infantry of the prime of our army, together with one thousand Tlascalans were posted in concealment, in some large houses which had belonged to a nobleman of the city. This was done during the night. Cortes with the rest of his troops, in the morning went to attack a post at a bridge, which Guatimotzin had ordered to be supported by a large force. Cortes after his first attack retreated, drawing the enemy after him, by the buildings where the troops were placed in concealment. At the proper moment he fired two shots close together as a signal to us; we sallied out, and the enemy being enclosed between us, our allies, and the party of Cortes which faced about, a dreadful havoc was made of them, and from that time they no more annoyed us in our retreat. Another trap was also laid for them by Alvarado, but not with the same success; I was not present at it, being ordered by Cortes to do duty for that time with his party.

From our quarters we had to march above half a league

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE CITY OF MEXICO, SHOWING CAUSEWAYS WHERE THE PRINCIPAL FIGHTING OCCURRED.

to meet the enemy; we now therefore quitted that post altogether, and lodged ourselves in the great square or Taltelulco. Here we were for three days without doing any thing worth mentioning: we also abstained from destroying any more of the city, in the hopes of peace.

Cortes at this time sent to Guatimotzin requesting him to surrender, under the strongest assurances of enjoying the plentitude of power and honors. He accompanied this embassy with as handsome a present as his situation permitted, of provisions, bread, fowls, fruit, and game. Guatimotzin as he was advised to do by those whom he consulted, dissimulated, and seemed inclined to a pacification. He sent four of his principal nobility, with a promise to come to an interview with Cortes in three days. But this was all feigned; he employed the time in fortifying his quarter of the town, and making preparations to attack us. He also endeavoured to amuse us by a second embassy, but we were now advised of his schemes. In fact, from what he was told by those about him, and from the example of his uncle Montezuma, he was afraid to trust himself in our hands. But the mask was soon thrown off; we were attacked by great bodies of the enemy, with such violence that it appeared as if all was beginning anew. Having been rather taken by surprise, they did us at first some mischief, killed one soldier, and two horses; but in the end we sent them back with very little to boast of. Cortes ordered his troops now to proceed against that part of the city where the quarters of Guatimotzin were; accordingly we began upon our former system, and gained ground as we had before done elsewhere. When the king perceived this, he desired an interview with Cortes, on the side of a large canal which was to separate them. To this Cortes readily assented, and it was to take place on the ensuing morning. Cortes attended, but Guatimotzin never appeared; instead of which he sent several of his principal nobility, who said that the king did not think proper to come, from an apprehension that we might shoot

him during the parley. Cortes then engaged by the most solemn oaths not to do him any injury whatever, but it was of no effect. A ridiculous farce was played here: two of the nobility who attended on the part of Guatimotzin, took out of a sack, bread, a fowl, and cherries, which they began to eat, in order to impress the Spaniards with an idea that they were not in want. Cortes seeing the manner in which he was treated, sent back an hostile message and retired; after this we were left unmolested for the space of four or five days. During this time numbers of wretched Indians, reduced by famine, surrounded our quarters every night. Cortes pitied their miserable situation, and hoping that it might induce the enemy to come into terms of accommodation, ordered the cessation of hostilities to be strictly adhered to; but no overture of the kind was made.

There was in the army of Cortes a soldier who boasted of having served in Italy, and of the great battles which he had seen there. His name was Sotelo, and he was a native of Seville. This man was eternally talking of the wonderful military machines which he knew the art of constructing, and how he could make a stone engine which should in two days destroy that whole quarter of the city where Guatimotzin had retreated. He told Cortes so many fine things of this kind, that he persuaded him into a trial of his experiments, lime, stone, and timber being brought, according to his desire; the carpenters were also set to work, two strong cables were made, and stones the size of a bushel were prepared. The machinery was now all ready, the stone which was to be ejected was put in its place, and the whole apparatus was played off [2] against the quarters of Guatimotzin. But behold! instead of taking that direction, the stone flew up vertically into the air, and returned exactly into the place from whence it had been launched. Cortes was enraged and ashamed: he reproached the soldier, and ordered the ma-

[2] From the platform of a theatre.

chinery to be taken down; but still it continued the joke of the army.

Cortes now gave orders to Sandoval, to go with the flotilla against that part or nook of the city whither Guatimotzin had retired, cautioning him at the same time not to kill or injure any Mexican, unless he was attacked, nor even then to do more than was absolutely necessary for his own defence; but to level all the houses, and the many advanced works which the enemy had made in the lake. Cortes ascended then into the great temple, with several of his officers and soldiers, to observe the movements of his fleet. When Sandoval approached the quarters of Guatimotzin, that prince, who had great apprehensions of being made prisoner, availed himself of the preparations which he had made for his escape, and embarking himself, his family, his courtiers, and officers, with their most valuable effects, on board fifty large piraguas, the whole body set off for the main land, as did all his nobility and chiefs in various directions. Sandoval who was at this time occupied in making his way by tearing down the houses, received immediate notice of the flight of Guatimotzin. He instantly set out in the pursuit, giving strict orders that no injury or insult should be offered, but that each should keep a steady eye upon the royal vessel, and do his utmost to get possession of it. He particularly directed however Garci Holguin, his intimate friend, and captain of the quickest sailer of the fleet, to make for that part of the shore whither Guatimotzin was most likely to go. Accordingly this officer followed his instructions, and falling in with the vessels, from certain particulars in its appearance, structure, and awning, he ascertained that which the king was on board of. He made signs to the people in it to bring to, but without effect; he then ordered his crossbow-men and musqueteers to present, upon which Guatimotzin called out to them not to shoot, and approaching the vessel, acknowledged himself for what he

was, declaring his readiness to submit, and go with them to their general, but requesting that his queen, his children, and attendants should be suffered to remain unmolested. Holguin received him with the greatest respect, together with his queen, and twenty of his nobility. He seated them on the poop of his ship, and provided refreshments for them, commanding, that the piraguas which carried the kings effects, should follow untouched.

Sandoval at this moment made a signal for the flotilla to close up to him, and perceived that Guatimotzin was prisoner to Holguin, who was taking him to Cortes. Upon this he ordered his rowers to exert their utmost to bring him up to Holguin's vessel, and having arrived by the side of it, he demanded Guatimotzin to be delivered to him as general of the whole force; but Holguin refused, alledging that he had no claim whatever. A vessel which went to carry the intelligence of the great event, brought also to Cortes who was then on the summit of the great temple in the Taltelulco, very near the part of the lake where Guatimotzin was captured, an account of the dispute between his officers. Cortes instantly dispatched Captain Luis Marin and Francisco de Lugo, to bring the whole party together to his quarters, and thus to stop all litigation; but he enjoined them not to omit treating Guatimotzin and his queen with the greatest respect. During the interval, he employed himself in arranging a state, as well as he could, with cloths and mantles. He also prepared a table with refreshments, to receive his prisoners. As soon as they appeared, he went forward to meet them, and embracing Guatimotzin, treated him and all his attendants with every mark of respect. The unfortunate monarch, with tears in his eyes, and sinking under affliction, then addressed him in the following words. "Malintzin! I have done that which was my duty in the defence of my kingdom and people; my efforts have failed, and being now brought by force a prisoner in your hands, draw that poinard from your side, and stab me to the heart." Cortes embraced, and

used every expression to comfort him, by assurances that he held him in high estimation for the valour and firmness he had shewn, and that he had required a submission from him and the people at the time that they could no longer reasonably hope for success, in order to prevent further destruction; but that was all past, and no more to be thought of; he should continue to reign over the people, as he had done before. Cortes then enquired after his queen, to which Guatimotzin replied, that in consequence of the compliance of Sandoval with his request, she and her women remained in the piraguas, until Cortes should decide as to their fate. The general then caused them to be sent for, and treated them in the best manner his situation afforded. The evening was drawing on, and it appeared likely to rain; he therefore sent the whole royal family to Cuyoacan, under the care of Sandoval. The rest of the troops then returned to their former quarters; we to ours of Tacuba, and Cortes, proceeding to Cuyoacan, took the command there, sending Sandoval to resume his station at Tepeaquilla. Thus was the siege of Mexico brought to a conclusion by the capture of Guatimotzin and his chiefs, on the thirteenth of August, at the hour of vespers, being the day of St. Hyppolitus, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and twenty one. Glorified be our Lord Jesus Christ, and our lady the Holy Virgin Mary and his blessed mother, amen!

In the night after Guatimotzin was made prisoner, there was the greatest tempest of rain, thunder, and lightening, especially about midnight, that ever was known; but all the soldiers were as deaf as if they had been for an hour in a steeple, with the bells ringing about their ears. This was owing to the continual noise of the enemy for ninety three days; some preparing their troops and bringing them on, shouting, calling, and whistling, as signals to attack us on the causeway; others in the canoes coming to attack our vessels; some again at work upon their pallisadoes, or opening the ditches and water cuts, and making stone parapets, or pre-

paring their magazines of darts and arms, and the women supplying the slingers with their ammunition. Then from the temples and adoratories of their accursed idols, the timbals and horns, and the mournful sound of their great drum, and other dismal noises, were incessantly assailing our ears, so that day or night we could hardly hear each other speak. But these dins immediately ceased on the capture of Guatimotzin, for which reason as I have observed, we felt like so many men just escaped from a steeple where all the bells were ringing about our ears.

Guatimotzin was of a noble appearance both in person and countenance; his features were rather large, and chearful, with lively eyes. His age was about twenty three or four years, and his complexion very fair for an Indian. His queen the niece of Montezuma, was young, and very handsome.

In regard to the dispute between Sandoval and Holguin, Cortes related to them the circumstance from the Roman history, of the capture of Jugurtha, and the dispute of Marius and Sylla, about which of them should have the honor of it, and that this dispute was productive of most fatal civil wars; but said that he would lay the whole affair before his Majesty, by whose arbitration it should be decided, which of the two should have the action emblazoned in his arms. In two years from this time the Emperor's orders upon the subject arrived; they were to this purpose; that Cortes should bear in his arms the seven kings, representing Montezuma, Guatimotzin, and the princes of Tezcuco, Iztapalapa, Cuyoacan, Tacuba, and Matalzingo.

What I am going to mention is truth, and I swear and say amen to it. I have read of the destruction of Jerusalem, but I cannot conceive that the mortality there exceeded this of Mexico; for all the people from the distant provinces which belonged to this empire had concentrated themselves here, where they mostly died. The streets, the squares, the houses, and the courts of the Taltelulco were covered with

dead bodies; we could not step without treading on them; the lake and canals were filled with them, and the stench was intolerable. For this reason, our troops immediately after the capture of the royal family retired to their former quarters. Cortes himself was for some time ill from the effect of it.

The vessels were now the best situation, those on board carrying away all the plunder, for they had access to houses in the water which were not in our reach. They also found what the Mexicans had concealed in the reeds, and on the borders of the lake, and intercepted that which was carried out of our reach by water. We on land gained nothing but honor and wounds. The wealth our navy got was much more than we could guess at; Guatimotzin and all his chiefs declaring, when enquiry was made as to the public treasure, that it had mostly fallen into their hands.

To return to the state of Mexico. Guatimotzin now requested of Cortes, that permission should be given to clear the city entirely of the inhabitants, in order to purify it, and restore its salubrity. Accordingly they were ordered to remove to the neighbouring towns, and for three days, and three nights, all the causeways were full, from one end to the other, of men, women, and children, so weak and sickly, squalid and dirty, and pestilential, that it was misery to behold them. When all those who were able had quitted the city, we went to examine the state of it, which was as I have described. The streets, courts, and houses were covered with dead bodies, and some miserable wretches were creeping about, in the different stages of the most offensive disorders, the consequences of famine and improper food. The ground was all broken up to get at the roots of such vegetation as it afforded, and the very trees were stripped of their bark! There was no fresh water in the town. During all their distress however, though their constant practice was to feast on such as they took prisoners, no instance occurred of their having preyed on each other; and certainly never existed

since the creation a people which suffered so much from hunger, thirst, and warfare.

After having returned thanks to God, Cortes determined to celebrate his success by a festival in Cuyoacan; a vessel had arrived at Villa Rica with a cargo of wine, and hogs had been provided from the Island of Cuba. To this entertainment he invited all the officers of his army, and also the soldiers of estimation, and all things being prepared, on the day appointed, we waited on our general. When we came to sit down to dinner there were not tables for one half of us; this brought on great confusion among the company, and indeed for many reasons it would have been much better let alone. The plant of Noah was the cause of many fooleries and worse things; it made some leap over the tables who afterwards could not go out at the doors, and many rolled down the steps. The private soldiers swore they would buy horses with golden harness; the crossbow-men would use none but golden arrows; all were to have their fortunes made. When the tables were taken away the soldiers danced in their armour, with the ladies, as many of them as there were, but the disproportion in numbers was very great. This scene was truly ridiculous. I will not mention the names, suffice it to say a fair field was opened for satire. Fray De Olmedo thought what he observed at the feast, and in the dances too scandalous, and complained to Sandoval; and the latter directly told Cortes how the reverend father was scolding and grumbling. Cortes, discreet in all his actions, then came to him and affecting to disapprove the whole, requested that he would order a solemn mass and thanksgiving, and preach a sermon to the soldiers on the moral and religious duties. Fra Bartholome was highly pleased at this, thinking it had originated spontaneously from Cortes, and not knowing that the hint had been given him by Sandoval. Accordingly, the crucifixes and the image of our Lady were borne in solemn procession, with drums and standards; the litany was sung during the ceremony, Fra

Bartholome preached and administered the sacrament, and we returned thanks to God for our victory.

Cortes now took leave of his allies, the Tlascalan chiefs, and also of Suchel otherwise Don Carlos, a very brave man, as was another, a captain of some city near the lake the name of which I forget; but he did wonders. Many others who had rendered us most important services departed at the same time. Cortes dismissed them all to their homes with many embraces, thanks, and compliments, promising that he would soon make them rich, and great lords, and give them lands and vassals, so that they took their departure in high spirits. They had however secured something more substantial than promises, for they were well loaden with the plunder of Mexico, nor were they behind the enemy in their cannibal feasts, carrying with them portions preserved, to supply their friends on their return home.

Now that I am past these furious combats, through which, praised be God he was pleased to conduct me safe, I have to mention a certain particularity relative to myself, and it is this. When I saw the sacrifice of our seventy two countrymen, and their hearts taken out and offered to the war god of the Mexicans, I had a sensation of fear. Some may consider this as want of firmness; but if they weigh it duly, they will find that it was in truth the result of too much courage, which caused me to run into extreme and uncommon dangers; for in that day I considered myself a most valiant soldier, and was so esteemed by all; and was used to do that which was attempted by the boldest, and I was always under the eye of my captain. As I have before observed, when I saw my companions sacrificed, their hearts taken out palpitating, and their legs and arms cut off and eaten, I feared it might one day or other be my own lot, for they had me in their hands twice, but it was God's will that I should escape; but I remembered, and thought on what I had seen, and from this time I feared that cruel death; and this I mention, because before I went into battle, I felt a great depression

and uneasiness about my heart, and then recommending myself to God and his blessed mother our Lady, the instant I was engaged with the enemy it left me. Still I am surprised that it came upon me when I should have felt more valiant than ever, on account of the many battles in which I had been engaged. But I declare I never knew what fear was, until I saw the massacre of the seventy two soldiers. Let those cavaliers who have been in desperate battles and mortal dangers now decide what was the cause of my fears; I say that it was excess of courage; and for this reason; that I knew the greatness of the danger into which I was determined to go, and knowingly, and voluntarily, encountered it. Many engagements are related in my history besides those I was at; but if my body were of iron, I could not have been at all; and I was much oftener wounded than whole.

I must observe, that the Mexicans did not kill our soldiers, but wounded, and carried them off, to sacrifice alive, to their gods.

THE END OF PART TWO

The True History
OF THE
Conquest of Mexico.

PART THE THIRD.

Chapter i.

Transactions and occurrences in New Spain subsequent to the conquest.

After the conquest, as soon as Cortes had leisure to turn his mind to objects of police and internal regulation, he directed that the aqueducts should be restored, and the city cleared of the dead, so that within two months it might be inhabited as before. The palaces and houses he ordered to be repaired, and pointed out that part which was to be inhabited by the natives, and that which was to be reserved for the Spaniards.

Guatimotzin now applied in the name of many of his principal nobility to Cortes, requesting that he would order such of their women of rank as had been taken by our soldiers, to be delivered to their husbands, and fathers. The general found some difficulty in this, but agreed to permit them to make search, and such as wished to return, he assured them that he would cause to be given up. They searched through every house, and though the women hid themselves they found many, but very few were inclined to return; they declared that they detested the idolatry of their countrymen, and in addition they were many of them pregnant, so that of the whole number three only went back to their families.

One of the first public works undertaken was an arsenal in the city, so situated as to include our flotilla. Alvarado was to the best of my knowledge appointed alcalde, until the arrival of Salazar de la Pedrada. All the gold, silver, and jewels, which were now collected in Mexico, amounted to the paltry sum of three hundred and eighty thousand crowns. It was reported that Guatimotzin had thrown great quantities into the lake four days before the surrender of the town, and it was well known that a considerable share had fallen to our allies, and to those who served on board the fleet. Cortes was not sorry to think Guatimotzin had it concealed, in hopes of obtaining it all for himself. It was then proposed to put both Guatimotzin and his confidential friend the prince of Tacuba to the torture, to extort confession from them; this was certainly very contrary to the inclination and disposition of Cortes, who could not approve of such an act of cruelty being committed on a person so distinguished as Guatimotzin; one who was absolute monarch of a country three times larger than Castille. In answer to all enquiries the king's officers protested that there was no more than what had been produced, which when melted and run into bars did not exceed three hundred and eighty thousand crowns. From this the fifth for the Emperor and another for Cortes were deducted; what remained did not at all satisfy those of the conquerors of Mexico who were not before friends to Cortes. They suggested to the treasurer Alderete that the general objected to Guatimotzin being tortured, in order to get the gold himself. Cortes was therefore obliged to leave the unfortunate king at their disposal, as well as the lord of Tacuba. What this inhuman process extorted from them was, a confession that they had, four days previous to the surrender, thrown treasure into the lake, and also the musquets, bows, and other arms taken from us in our flight, and in the last defeat of Cortes. The place which Guatimotzin pointed out was searched by the best swimmers, to no effect whatever. In a deep pond at his palace was found a sun of solid gold,

similar to that which Montezuma had given us, with many ornaments of small value, the private property of Guatimotzin. On the torture the Prince of Tacuba declared that he had gold at some large houses he possessed four leagues from the town of Tacuba, and that, if there, he would point out to us where it was buried. Alvarado and six soldiers whereof I was one accompanied him thither; when we arrived he declared he had said so in hopes of dying on the road, for that he had no treasure whatever; so we remained without any more gold to melt. The fact is that the treasury was diminished to a mere trifle before it came into Guatimotzin's hands; and I and many others who saw it at first knew it appeared to be then worth twice what it was when brought out to have his Majesty's share deducted: I observed many articles of remarkable and curious workmanship missing at that time; they were taken for the public service.

I and several good divers searched that part of the lake which had been pointed out by Guatimotzin, and we found some pieces of gold of little value, which were immediately claimed by Cortes and Alderete. They also sent down persons and were themselves present, but all they obtained amounted to less than the value of ninety crowns. This made us very pensive and grave, when we found what mere trifles our shares as they were called came to. For this reason Fra Bartholome, and other cavaliers and captains, represented to Cortes that it would be best to divide that which fell to the lot of the whole army, among the wounded, the halt, the blind, the deaf, the scorched, and the sick; and that those who had escaped sound would renounce their claims. This they said upon an expectation that it might draw out some of the treasure which they suspected was concealed. Cortes replied that he would enquire, and rectify all. Our captains and soldiers were then curious to know what the shares came to for each man. On casting it up it appeared, that to each horseman there came one hundred crowns, and to each infantry soldier I forget how much, but

no one would accept it. This did not quiet the soldiers; they murmured loudly and accused the treasurer. He to exculpate himself said, that they should blame Cortes, who had taken out a second fifth for himself, and also a deduction for loss of horses, and had retained from the common stock many pieces of wrought gold to send to his Majesty. The soldiers of Narvaez who never liked Cortes thoroughly, would not take their paltry shares, and as Cortes now lodged at Cuyoacan, in large buildings with white walls, very well adapted for scribbling on, there appeared every morning libels against him in prose or verse. The idea of one of them was, that as the planets sometimes went a little out of their course, but by the order of nature speedily reverted to it again, so it was with Cortes and his ambition. Another said we were more conquered by Cortes than Mexico by us, and that we were not the victors of New Spain, but the vanquished of Cortes. Some said that he had taken his fifth as general, and a second as king; and others again that Velasquez had incurred all the expence, and Cortes reaped all the profit. I recollect the words of one only: they were

"Que triste esta el alma mea,
Hasta que la parte vea." [1]

Many were written in such a stile as is not fit for me to relate, and some had a turn and witty point in them which I am not able to give. Cortes was a poet, and prided himself on giving answers in that way to such complimentary addresses as he received; he also used to reply in pointed epigrams to these pasquinades which grew every day more indecent. One day observing the walls covered with them he wrote, "a white wall is paper for fools." Next morning was found added, "and for truths." At length Fra Bartholome told Cortes the thing was going too far, and advised him to stop it, which he did by threats of severe punishment.

[1] How anxious I am for a partition of plunder!!

Among the soldiers of our army very heavy debts were contracted; a cross-bow was sold for fifty crowns, a musquet cost one hundred, a horse eight hundred, one thousand, and even more; and every thing else was in proportion. Then our surgeon Maestre Juan charged high, as did a Doctor Murcia who was an apothecary and barber. There were besides various other money traps, all which were to be satisfied out of our dividends. This required some regulation: Cortes accordingly appointed Sancta Clara, a very honorable person, and one Lerena, to appreciate each claim, which was to be paid according to their award, within two years. The value of the gold was also altered by increasing the alloy; this was intended to serve us in our dealing with the merchants from Europe or Cuba, but it had a contrary effect, as they were prepared, and added twice as much to the price of their goods. The alloy was copper, called here Tepuzque; for which reason we call any one of an inferior degree to another of the same name, Don Juan, or Don Alonzo Tepuzque, or the copper Don Juan &c. The abuses resulting from this being made known to his Majesty, he was pleased to forbid the currency of this base metal, ordering it to be taken in duties until it was all drawn over to Castille, and that no more of it should be made. At this time two goldsmiths were hanged here for running base metal with the legal mark.

I have digressed for some time past, and will now return to the thread of my narrative. Cortes, as the best way to get rid of troublesome companions and demands, determined now to send out colonies, and make settlements at convenient situations. For this purpose Sandoval was ordered to Tustepeque, and Guacacualco. Juan Velasquez was to go to Colima, one Villa Fuerte to Zacatula, Christoval de Oli to Mechoacan, (he was at this time married to a Portugueze lady named Donna Phillipa de Aranja,) and Francisco de Orozca to Guaxaca.

At this time the chiefs of the distant provinces could not

bring themselves to believe that Mexico was destroyed: they therefore sent deputations to ascertain the truth, and also to offer themselves as vassals to his Majesty the Emperor. All made great presents of gold to Cortes, and many came in person, and brought their children to see the state of that power once so feared by them, and used to express themselves as we say, "here Troy town stood."

Curious readers will be desirous to know how it happened, that the conquerors of Mexico who had gone through such dangers to obtain possession of that city, should now quit it to search for new settlements. To this I reply, that the books which contained the accounts of Montezuma's revenues were examined to find from whence the gold, and other valuable articles of tribute, such as cacao, and cotton manufactures, were sent; and it was to these productive districts that we wished to go. Especially, we were led by the example of Sandoval, who being known to be the particular friend of Cortes, it was not to be supposed would go upon an unprofitable enterprise. We also saw that the vicinity of the city of Mexico had neither mines, plantations, nor manufactures, but was intirely occupied by the cultivation of maize, and of maguey. This we thought did not afford us prospects sufficiently advantageous, and we went to other places where we were sadly disappointed. I waited upon Cortes to request permission to attend Sandoval; "brother B. Diaz del Castillo" said the general to me, "by my conscience you will find yourself mistaken; you had better stay with me, but if you are determined on going with your friend Sandoval, go in God's name; I will always do my utmost to take care of you, but I tell you that you will repent of it." All the gold remained with the Emperor's officers, the slaves having been purchased by the soldiers according to their valuation at a public sale. The detachments were sent out to colonize the provinces at different periods, for two months after the capture of Mexico; however I will not any farther

particularize them, not to trespass unnecessarily on my reader's time.

At this time arrived at the port of Villa Rica, Christoval de Tapia, veedor of the Island of St. Domingo, with a commission to take upon him the government of New Spain, by order of his Majesty, and under the direction of the Bishop of Burgos. He brought with him letters from the said Bishop of Burgos to Cortes and many others of his army, recommending him, to be honoured by us as governor of New Spain, and besides those which were closed and sealed, he had also with him letters filled up and which he was authorised to address as he saw occasion for his own interest. Great promises were held out to such as would come over to the new governor, and violent threats of punishment to those who made any opposition to him. Tapia first presented his commission to Alvarado, then commandant in Villa Rica. Alvarado received it with the highest respect, and said that as he was not able of himself to decide any thing, it would be necessary to assemble the alcaldes and regidors of the town, to have the commission verified before them, and also to prove the manner in which it had been transmitted, that they might know for a certainty that it came in a proper form from his Majesty's hand. This did not exactly agree with the views of Tapia. Being advised to proceed to Mexico and produce his commission to Cortes himself, he forwarded the letter of the bishop, and also wrote to Cortes upon the subject of his mission. The stile of the letters was smooth and persuasive, but the answer of Cortes was ten times more so. Cortes immediately sent expresses to some of the different officers he had detached, ordering them to go and meet Tapia who had already set out for Mexico, but was, in consequence of the direction of Cortes, met on the road by Alvarado, Sandoval, De Soto, Valdenegro, Captain Andres de Tapia, and the reverend father Fra Malgarejo. These gentlemen with much compliments and ceremony, in-

duced Christoval de Tapia to go to Cempoal; they there requested to see his commission, which being verified, and acknowledged, they placed it on their heads in token of respect and submission; but in regard to the admitting him as governor by the virtue of it, that was quite another affair; it was first necessary to know what his Majesty's pleasure was touching the affairs of New Spain, the true state of which had been concealed from him by the Bishop of Burgos, who did it to serve his own private views, and to favor Velasquez and Tapia, one of whom he intended should marry his niece. By all this it was pretty evident to Tapia, that he would not very speedily enter upon his office, and the disappointment affected him to that degree that he fell sick. Our captains wrote to Cortes letting him know all that had passed, and recommending him to send a good quantity of golden ingots, and try their effect in mollifying the fury of the would-be governor. These arrived by the return of the express, and with them they bought from him some negroes, three horses, and one of his ships; in the other Tapia embarked himself, and set sail for the Island of St. Domingo, where he was very ill received by the court of royal audience and the brothers of the order of Jeronymites, he having undertaken the business contrary to their express command; but they would not exert their power farther against one patronised by the Bishop of Burgos, his Majesty being at that time in Flanders.

I have formerly made mention of some particulars relative to an expedition set on foot by one Garay. It was to colonize and settle upon the river of Panuco. Cortes had received intelligence of it, and resolved to anticipate him by sending thither a party for the same purpose. He also now again sent Rangel to Villa Rica as commandant, and ordered Narvaez to be sent to him at Cuyoacan, where he resided until the palace which he was to inhabit in Mexico was compleated. The reason he sent for Narvaez was this; he was told that the latter had held a conversation with

Tapia, in which he advised him to quit the country on as good terms as he could get, and go to his patron the Bishop of Burgos in Castille, to lay the whole state of affairs before him; telling him also to profit by the example which his misfortunes set him, as, if he staid, he certainly would be put to death, and that success attended all the measures of Cortes. When Narvaez was brought before Cortes, he fell on his knees and attempted to kiss his hand, but our general would not permit it; he raised, and embracing Narvaez, treated him with all respect and regard, and made him sit by his side.

Cortes now proceeded to take his residence in the city of Mexico. He divided the ground into lots for the churches in the first place, then for the monasteries, the public buildings, and squares. He divided the rest of the ground among the inhabitants that were to be, and not to waste more time upon the subject, all those who have seen the present city of Mexico agree, that there is not in Christendom one more populous, larger, or better built.

While Cortes was thus employed, intelligence arrived that the province of Panuco was in arms. They are a warlike people, very numerous, and having rebelled, had killed many soldiers of the party which Cortes had sent to form a colony there. He resolved therefore to go thither in person: indeed all his captains were now absent on different duties. Our numbers had by this time received a considerable reinforcement as well of those who had come with the veedor Tapia, as of such as had been on the expedition to Florida with Vasquez de Aillon, and of many others lately arrived from the islands. He left a good garrison in Mexico under Diego de Soto, and set out on his march with one hundred and thirty cavalry, two hundred and fifty infantry, and ten thousand Mexicans. Just at this time De Oli returned from Mechoacan which he had reduced to a state of submission and peace, bringing with him the principal chief and several others, and a quantity of gold. This expedition to Panuco was very expensive; Cortes applied for a reimbursement

from the crown, which could not be acceded to; his Majesty's officers objected that it was undertaken on a private account, to prevent the establishment of a colony by Garay, and not for the public service. When he arrived at Panuco he found the people very rebellious. In the course of a few days he had two battles, in which he lost three soldiers, four horses, and above one hundred Mexicans. The number of the enemy amounted to above seventy thousand warriors, but it was God's will that we should obtain the victory, with such a slaughter of the rebels as deprived them of all thoughts of making any head for the present. These people are called the Guastecas, and Naguatecas. After the last battle Cortes again sent to summon them to submission. He employed for this purpose some of the prisoners, and sent with them Fra Bartholome, by whose exhortations they were induced to submit.

Cortes then went with one half of his troops to the river Chila, to reduce the Indians on the opposite side. He summoned them, but they murdered his messengers. He then passed over one hundred and fifty infanty, and fifty cavalry, during the night. The enemy on their landing fell on them in great numbers, but they were soon driven from the field, and our troops advancing took their quarters in a town where they found plenty of provisions. In the morning some of them entering the temple found remains of the bodies and clothes of our countrymen; some of our soldiers thought they recognised the features of their friends, and it was a melancholy sight to all; their remains we carefully collected and buried.

From this place our detachment marched to another, where an out party reported, that great bodies of the enemy were posted in concealment in the houses to fall upon our people when the cavalry had dismounted; their plan being discovered failed of success, but they fought valiantly for half an hour, and three of our soldiers died afterwards of their wounds. These people contrary to the general prac-

tice of Indians, rallied no less than three times. On the ensuing day our soldiers scoured the neighbourhood, and entering some towns which had been abandoned, found a quantity of earthen vessels, full of the wine of the country, in cellars under ground. After a stay of five days they returned to the river of Chila. Cortes now again summoned them, to which they returned for answer that they would come within four days; which Cortes waited out, but to no effect. He therefore determined to punish them, and during a dark and rainy night, embarking a large body of Mexicans, he sent them across a lake to one of the enemy's largest towns, which they totally destroyed. This brought in most of that country to submit. Cortes founded a town of one hundred and thirty houses, sixty three of the inhabitants whereof were soldiers. He named it Villa de St. Estevan del Puerto. It is situated about a league from Chila. He allotted to it all the neighbouring districts which had submitted, and gave the command to Pedro Valego. Cortes was informed that three districts which had been concerned in the murder of many Spaniards, but which had been now received under allegiance, intended to fall on this post as soon as he quitted the country. He in consequence marched against them and destroyed their towns, but they soon established them again.

A vessel which Cortes had ordered to come to him with provisions and necessaries was at this time lost in some strong gales from the north, whereby the new settlement was much distressed.

Cortes on his return to Mexico was informed of depredations committed on the peaceable districts, by some of the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains, whom he determined to chastise in his way, but they anticipated him, by falling upon his rear and robbing the baggage in a bad pass; our allies the Mexicans made them pay well for this insult, and two of their chiefs were hanged. Cortes then ordered hostilities to cease, and the people, on being summoned,

came in and submitted. In the place of the chief, who was executed, Cortes appointed his brother, after which he proceeded to Mexico. In all the provinces of New Spain none was so bad for savage and evil manners, as that of Panuco. They made human sacrifices, and were cruel to an excess, drunkards, filthy, and wicked, with thirty other turpitudes. They were punished with fire and sword two or three times, and greater misfortunes befell them when Nuno de Guzman came to be their governor, for he made them all slaves, and sold them in the islands.

Alonzo de Avila whom I have formerly mentioned, was now returned with powers from the court of royal audience and the brothers of the order of St. Jeronymo, whereby we were authorised to pursue our conquests, to mark slaves, and to make settlements according to the practice in the Islands of Hispaniola and Cuba. They also sent a report of what steps they had taken, to Castille. His Majesty was then in Flanders, where it was laid before him. Had De Avila been here at the time of Tapia's arrival he might have been very troublesome, for he was an adherent of the Bishop of Burgos, and had been bred up in his house. For these reasons, and by the advice of Almedo, Cortes to put him in good humour gave him the district of Guatitlan, one of the richest in that country. He also presented him with a considerable quantity of gold, and a much greater of kind words and promises, by which he won him so completely over to his interest that he afterwards sent him as his agent to Castille; at which time several gigantic human bones were transmitted, together with a quantity of gold, pearls, and valuable jewels. The bones were found in a temple at Cuyoacan; they were prodigiously large, and similar to those which we had procured in Tlascala and sent to Castille. The agents also brought over with them three tigers, and many other things of a curious nature, which I do not recollect. One part of their business was to transmit memorials to his Majesty from the council of Mexico, and from us the conquerors of

New Spain, requesting that he would send us over holy men of good life and example, as bishops and clergymen. Also praying, that in consideration of our meritorious services, all offices of honour and emolument should be given amongst us, and the government to Cortes, as the only fit and proper person. Also that his Majesty would be pleased not to suffer any scholars, or men of letters to come into this country, to throw us into confusion with their learning, quibbles, and books. We further represented the insufficiency of Christoval de Tapia, who was only sent by the Bishop of Burgos to effect a marriage between the said Tapia, and the bishop's niece, Donna Petronila de Fonseca. We also deprecated the interference of the bishop in the affairs of this country as being obstructive of our plans of conquests for his Majesty's service, adding that we were ready to receive his Majesty's commands, prostrate on the ground, but had thought it our duty to inform him of these particulars, which had been artfully kept from his knowledge. All this, and more, was represented in the fullest light, for his Majesty's information, and to do away the misrepresentations of the said Bishop of Burgos, whose enmity was manifest in his having prohibited the Casa de Contractation of Seville from sending us any supplies. Cortes also left nothing in his inkstand which could be of service to our interests, for he wrote a memorial of twenty one pages, which I read, and certify to be to the full tenor and effect of what I have related. He also farther petitioned, that his Majesty would permit him to go to the island of Cuba, to apprehend Velasquez the governor thereof, and send him as a prisoner to Castille, for the injuries done by him to the general service, more especially in sending an order to put Cortes to death.

Our agents sailed from the port of Vera Cruz, on the twentieth of December one thousand five hundred and twenty two, without any particular occurrence on the voyage to the Terceras, except the breaking loose of two tigers, who wounded some sailors, and their being obliged to kill the

other on account of his ferocity. At the Island of Tercera Captain Anthonio de Quinones lost his life. He was very amorous, and in a quarrel concerning a lady there, as he piqued himself upon his valor a duel ensued, in which he received a sword wound on the head, and died in three days. Thus the business remained in the hands of Alonzo de Avila only. As he pursued his voyage to Europe, he fell in with a French privateer commanded by Juan Florin, who made prize of him, his ship, and all the treasure. This captain took another ship from St. Domingo with a valuable cargo of sugar, and hides, as also twenty thousand crowns of gold, and a quantity of pearls, so that he returned to France very rich, and made great presents to the King, and also to the admiral of France, the people whereof were astonished at the magnificence of what we sent to our great Emperor. The King of France said that the wealth we supplied was sufficient alone to enable our Monarch to wage war against him, and yet Peru was not at this time known. It is also reported that the King sent to our Emperor, to say, that he and the King of Portugal had divided the world between them, without giving him a share, and that he desired to see the will of our father Adam, to know if he had made them exclusively his heirs. Florin in his next expedition fell in with a strong Biscayan squadron, by which he was defeated and made prisoner, and being transmitted to Spain, he was hanged at the Island of Teneriffe. Thus was an end of him, his ships, and our treasure.

Avila was confined a close prisoner in France, but he succeeded in gaining the friendship of the officer in whose custody he was, and obtained means of communicating with his friends in Spain, to whom he transmitted all the papers and documents with which he had been entrusted, and which were laid before his Majesty by the means of the licentiate Nunez, cousin to Cortes and relator of the royal council, Martin Cortes his father, and Diego de Ordaz. The Emperor was pleased on due consideration to order, that all

favor should be shewn to Cortes, and that farther proceedings should be suspended until his Majesty's return to Spain.

The intelligence of the loss of the treasure was received by us as a most serious disappointment. The district of Guatitlan was honorably reserved by Cortes for Avila, notwithstanding his captivity, and his brother succeeded to it three years after, Alonzo de Avila being then appointed contador of Yucatan.

The two captains, Sandoval and Alvarado, after the settlement with Tapia, returned to their detachments, and proceeded on their expeditions, of which I will now give an account.

Chapter ii.

Expeditions of G. de Sandoval and P. de Alvarado.

When our party (for I went with Sandoval) arrived at Tustepeque, I took up my lodgings in the summit of a tower in a very high temple, partly for the fresh air and to avoid the musquitos which were very troublesome below, and partly to be near Sandoval's quarters. It was here that seventy two soldiers of those who came with Narvaez, and six Castillian women had been put to death. The whole province on our arrival came in and submitted, except the Mexican chief, who had been the cause of the deaths of our soldiers. Him Sandoval got arrested, and he was shortly after executed, being burned alive. There were many more as guilty but this example was judged sufficient. After this was done a message was sent to the Zapotecan mountaineers to come in and submit. Their country is about ten leagues distant from Tustepeque. On their refusal an expedition was ordered against them, under the command of a Captain Briones, who according to his own account had been a great officer in Italy. He marched with one hundred infantry and about the same number of Indian allies; the enemy were prepared for him, and laid a plan for a surprise, which they effected so completely that they drove our party over the rocks, rolling down to the bottom, and above a third of them were wounded, one of whom afterwards died. The district is so very difficult of access, that troops can only pass in single file, and the climate is very misty and humid. The natives are armed with large lances with an ell of blade, with two edges of stone as sharp as a razor, and pliable shields which cover the whole body. They are very nimble, and give their signals by whistlings which echo among the

rocks with inconceivable shrillness. This district is called Tiltepeque. After it had been brought to submission the government of it was assigned to a soldier named Ojeda, who now lives in St. Ildefonso. Sandoval who was a good humoured man began to joke with Briones at his return, upon the bad success of his expedition, asking him if ever he had seen the like in Italy; for Briones was always giving accounts how he had severed men in two, and cut their heads off, &c. He was not pleased with Sandoval's jocularity, and swore he had rather fight the Turks and Moors, than the Zapotecans. This expedition was of little use, but on the contrary injurious. There was another district of the Zapotecans which was called Xaltepeque, the people of which were at war with their neighbours, and immediately on being summoned waited on Sandoval with handsome presents, and a considerable quantity of gold partly formed into toys, and the rest in ten little tubes; their chiefs wore very long robes of cotton reaching to the feet, richly embroidered, and resembling the upper robes of the Moors. They applied to him for some of his soldiers to assist them against their enemies named the Minxes. This the state of his force did not permit him to comply with, but he promised to transmit an application to Mexico for a reinforcement for them, and in the interval would send some of his men to see the country and the nature of the passes; but his real object was to examine their mines. Thus he dismissed them all except three, sending eight of us upon the business I have mentioned.

There were two of the same name in this party, for we had three Castillos in our army. I who at that time prided myself upon my dress, was named Castillo "the gallant." My namesake who went on his expedition was a man of very slow speech, not replying to a question for a length of time, and then he came out with some absurdity; he was named Castillo "the thoughtfull." The other who was very smart and ready in all he said was called Castillo "the

prompt." But to have done with our witticisms and proceed with my narrative. On our arrival, the Indians turned over the earth in three different rivers, and in each they found gold, filling four tubes of the size of the middle finger with it, and with these we returned. Sandoval thought that all our fortunes were now made; he took a district to himself from which he immediately procured fifteen thousand crowns. To Captain Luis Marin he gave Xaltepeque from whence we had obtained the gold. This turned out however very indifferently. He gave me a very profitable district there; would to God I had kept it! it consisted of three places named Matallan, Ozotequipa, and Oriaca, where is now the ingenio of the viceroy: but I thought it more consistent with my character to go with Sandoval upon his expeditions. Sandoval called his town Medellin, after the birth place of Cortes. The river De las Vanderas from which the fifteen thousand crowns were procured is the port, and it was here that the merchandise from Castille was discharged until Vera Cruz became the emporium.

We now proceeded on our route for Guacacualco. The province of Citla through which we passed has the most pleasant climate, and the greatest plenty of provisions, of any we had seen in this continent; its extent is about twelve leagues, in length and breadth, and it is very populous. The chiefs immediately submitted. On our arrival at the river of Guacacualco, those of that district, which is the head one of all the neighbouring people, on being summoned did not appear, which we considered as a declaration of hostility, and such in fact was their first determination; but after five days had passed, they waited on Sandoval with a present of some trinkets of fine gold. By his directions they collected one hundred canoes, in which our troops crossed the river, after we had first sent four soldiers to observe and report the state of the people. The town which we founded here we called Del Espiritu Santo, which sublime name was given

to it because it was on that day we defeated Narvaez; it was also our word in the battle, and it was on the same day that we crossed this river. Here the flower of our army was established, and it is certain that when we went out to the square upon a festival or review, we mustered eighty cavalry; a greater number in proportion than five hundred now, horses were then so scarce and dear. Sandoval having examined and considered the situation of the neighbouring districts, made repartitions of them as most convenient to the different settlements. The districts he allotted to his of Guacacualco were Guazpaltepeque, Tepeca, Chinanta, the Zapotecas, Copilco, Cimatan, Tabasco, Cachula, the Zoques, Techeapa, Cinacatan, the Quilenes and Papanahausta. We had much trouble afterwards on account of litigation with Vera Cruz concerning three of them. Guazpaltepeque, Chinanta, and Tepeca; with the town of Tabasco concerning two others, Cimatan, and Copilco, also with Chiapa concerning two, the Quilenes and Zoques, and with St. Ildefonso about the Zapotecas. I was very sorry I fixed myself here; the lands were very poor, and it turned out altogether to my disadvantage. Still we should have done very well had we been left as we were at first; but when the new settlements were formed our possessions were clipped, to accommodate them; whereby our colony fell to decay, from being the best, and containing the greatest number of the generous conquerors of Mexico; but it is at present a place of very few inhabitants.

Sandoval now received intelligence of the arrival of Donna Catalina lady of our general Hernando Cortes, and her brother, at the river of Aguayalco. La Zambrana also and her family arrived with them, and Elvira Lopez "the tall," married to Juan de Palma who was afterwards hanged. We all set out to pay our respects to these ladies, and I recollect the roads were almost impassable from the constant and heavy rains. Donna Catalina and the rest were escorted by us to our town of Guacacualco, and we sent word to Cortes of

their arrival. After a short stay with us they set out for Mexico. Cortes was very sorry for their coming, but he put the best face upon it, and received them with great pomp and rejoicings. In about three months after the arrival of Donna Catalina, we heard of her having died of an asthma.

Villafuerte who had been sent to Zacatula, and Alvarez Chico who had also gone to Colima, were unsuccessful in their endeavours to bring those provinces into submission. Cortes then sent a party thither commanded by Christoval de Oli; the natives attacked him on his march, killing two of his soldiers; but he reached the station of Villafuerte who was afraid to stir out of it, and the enemy had even killed four of his men in the town. De Oli however before he departed reduced both these districts to submission. I do not know what became of Captain Juan Alvarez, but I believe he was killed in some of the actions with the natives at this time. De Oli returned to Mexico, but had hardly got there when intelligence arrived of three provinces being again in rebellion. Sandoval had at this time arrived at Mexico with the ladies. Cortes sent him with a small party of our veterans to take these districts into his hands, which he did, and punished, and regulated them in such a manner, that we heard no more of their being refractory.

Several of the districts subject to Guacacualco rebelled on the departure of Sandoval, killing the Spaniards employed in the management of the tribute; amongst others were the Xaltepeque Zapotecas, Cimatan, and Copilco; the first of which is difficult of access on account of its mountains, the two others on account of lakes and marshes, and they were not brought to subjection but with the greatest difficulty.

At this time, and while Captain Luis Marin was employed in subjugating these districts, arrived at our settlement in a small vessel which came up to the town, Juan Buono the Biscayan. He immediately summoned us all to a meeting, where, after some compliments on both sides, he opened his business to us, which was, to induce us to accept as governor

Christoval de Tapia, of whose return to St. Domingo Buono was ignorant. Large offers were made by the Bishop of Burgos in unaddressed letters, which Buono had a discretionary power of directing to such as would support his views. These he accordingly sent to such as he found to hold offices; I was offered a regidor's place. When Buono heard that Tapia was no longer in the country he was very much disappointed. We referred him to Cortes at Mexico, whither he went; I do not know what passed between them, but I believe Cortes sent him back to Castille with some money in his pocket.

Amongst others who courted the alliance of the Spaniards after the conquest of Mexico, were the people called the Tutepeque Zapotecans. They applied very earnestly for our assistance against a nation which was in hostility to them, named likewise the Tutepeques, whom they represented as possessing a very rich country. Accordingly in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty two, Alvarado, by the order of Cortes, marched from Mexico with one hundred and eighty soldiers, infantry and cavalry, with an order to take twenty more in his march to the province of Guaxaca, and also to visit certain rocky districts said to be in rebellion. He was forty days upon his route from Mexico to Tutepeque; on his arrival he was hospitably received, and lodged in the most populous part of the city, where the houses joined, and were roofed with straw, it not being the custom of that country to have terraces on their house-tops, as the climate is very sultry. By the advice of Olmedo it was determined that our troops should remove to a more open part of the town, lest, in case of any treachery on the part of the people, their quarters should be set fire to. When they were fixed the chief of the town brought them provisions, and every day some rich present of gold. Alvarado desired a pair of stirrups of this metal, which was done according to the pattern. In a few days after, the chief was made prisoner, on an information from the Indians of Teguantepeque, who were in

hostility to these, of his intention to burn the Spaniards in the quarters which they had first assigned to them in the temples. Some of the Spaniards say, it was to extort gold from him; however it was, he died in prison, after Alvarado had got from him to the value of thirty thousand crowns. Apparently his death was owing to vexation, though Fra Bartholome did what he could to console and encourage him. His son was permitted to succeed him in the chieftainry. Alvarado obtained from him more than he had got from the father, and then proceeded to establish a colony which he named Segura, as the colonists were mostly from Tepeaca, named by us Segura de la Frontera.

Alvarado then set out on his return, with all his wealth; for Cortes had written to him to collect what he could, to send to Castille. The soldiers being thus excluded from any share, some of them formed a conspiracy to assassinate Alvarado and his brothers. They were principally musqueteers and crossbow-men. A soldier of the name of Tribejo gave information to Fra Bartholome, a few hours before it was to be attempted. The reverend father having called Alvarado aside, and informed him of what he had heard, at the hour of vespers, when the latter was riding out in company with several of the conspirators, and passing by some houses, he said to them, "Gentlemen I am suddenly taken ill with a pain in my side, let us return, and call a barber to bleed me." On his arrival he immediately sent for his brothers George and Gonzalo, together with the alcaldes and alguazils. He then ordered them to arrest the assassins, two of whom were hanged; one was named Salamanca; he had been a pilot. The other was called Barnardino Levantisco. They both died like good christians, the reverend father taking great pains to bring them to a due sense of their situation.

Alvarado now returned to Mexico, leaving a colony in this place; but when the colonists found that the gold had been drawn away, that the climate was hot and unhealthy, and infested with musquitos, bugs, and other vermin, and

that they and their slaves were dying fast, they determined to abandon it, some going to Mexico, and some to other places. Cortes on hearing of the settlement being thus renounced, caused an enquiry to be set on foot, and found that it had been determined by the alcaldes and regidors in council, for which he condemned them to suffer death, which was afterwards mitigated at the intercession of Olmedo to banishment. Thus fell to the ground the colony of Segura or Tutepeque, a very fertile country, but unhealthy. The cruelty and extortion of Alvarado alienated the minds of the people, and they threw of their allegiance; but that officer returning thither brought them again to submission, and they afterwards continued peaceable.

Chapter iii.

Armament of Francisco de Garay.

I HAVE already made mention of F. de Garay, who was governor of the Island of Jamaica. When he heard of the riches that had been acquired here by Diego Velasquez, and of the fertile countries which had been discovered, stimulated by his avarice, and encouraged by the reflection on his wealth and means, Garray was induced to try his fortune.

Having therefore sent for, and discoursed with Alaminos our principal pilot upon the subject, his account was so favorable that he determined on sending a confidential person one Juan de Torralva, to obtain from the Bishop of Burgos the government of the country about the river Panuco. His application having been successful he sent an armament of three ships, with two hundred and forty soldiers, under the command of Alonzo Alvarez Pinedo or Pineda, which was defeated by the Indians of Panuco, one ship only escaping, and joining us at Villa Rica.

Garay receiving no intelligence of his first armament, sent a second, which also arrived at our port; and having now expended much treasure, and learning the good fortune of Cortes, he was more than ever stimulated to make exertions. He therefore fitted out a fleet of thirteen ships, and embarked one hundred and thirty six cavalry, and eight hundred and forty foot soldiers, mostly musqueteers and crossbowmen. The fleet under his command sailed from Jamaica in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty three, on the day of St. John, and arrived without any particular occurrence at a port called Xagua in the Island of Cuba. On his arrival here, he learned the news of Cortes having brought the province of Panuco under subjection, and that he had

sent a petition to his Majesty to be appointed to the government of it. He was also told of the heroic actions of Cortes and his companions in arms, and of our having defeated Narvaez with only two hundred and seventy soldiers. He was therefore struck with awe at the power of our chief, and the more so when he was visited by the Licentiate Zuazo. One day discoursing with this gentleman on the fortunes of Cortes, he expressed his apprehensions of a difference between them relative to the government of Panuco, and requested that Zuazo would mediate with Cortes in his favor, to which the other assented.

Shortly after this, Garay with his armament set out, and being forced by a storm into the river Palmas, he there disembarked and marched for Panuco. Knowing also that Cortes had made an establishment there, he thought it necessary to take an oath of fidelity from those under his command, and he nominated the officers requisite for the establishment of his colony, which he meant to name the city of Garayana.

Having advanced for two days march along the sea shore through an uninhabited and marshy country, he with his troops arrived at some villages, whose inhabitants received and entertained them hospitably, but, many of the soldiers staying behind, robbed and injured the people. Garay continued his march and at length arrived at Panuco, which the troops had painted to themselves as the end of their labours, but were sadly undeceived by finding it almost a desert, for the war of Cortes had wasted it, or what remained was concealed on the approach of the Spaniards, who found nothing but bare walls, where they were to sustain the attack of flies, and vermin of every description. One misfortune following another, he could get no intelligence from his fleet, but learned by a Spaniard who having committed some crime was a fugitive among the Indians, that it had not arrived at the port. The same person gave a very unfavorable account of the country of Panuco, enhancing that of Mexico, and this

making a strong impression on the minds of Garay's soldiers, they began to disband, and went towards Mexico, robbing the natives in their way.

All these things combined reduced Garay to a bad situation, and he sent one of his officers named Diego de Ocampo, to sound the disposition of the governor under Cortes in the colony of Santistevan, to whom he notified the appointment he had obtained from his Majesty. This officer answered Garay's message politely, and returned a favorable answer as to their reception, requesting that the soldiers might not outrage the inhabitants; Pedro de Vallejo, for that was his name, at the same time sent an express to Cortes with Garay's letter, and sollicited a strong reinforcement, or the presence of Cortes himself.

On the receipt of the intelligence from Vallejo, Cortes dispatched Fra Bartholome, Alvarado, Sandoval, and Gonzalo de Ocampo, brother to the person of that name who was with Garay, and entrusted to them the instructions he had received, whereby his Majesty's pleasure was signified, that all his conquests should be left under his command, until the matters in dispute between him and Velasquez should be brought judicially to an issue.

I will now return to my relation of the steps taken by Garay, who advanced with his force into the neighbourhood of St. Estevan del Puerto. On receiving intelligence thereof, Vallejo concerted a plan with the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and being guided by five deserters who told him that Garay's troops were scattered negligently in a large town called Nacoplan, he came upon them by surprise, and made forty of them prisoners, assigning as a reason, their coming without producing any commission, and the outrages which they committed on the inhabitants. This being reported to Garay, he demanded the prisoners, threatening Vallejo with the vengeance of government. Vallejo replied, that when he saw his Majesty's orders he would obey them with all humility, and requesting that they should be sent to him. At

this moment the persons deputed by Cortes arrived, and Diego de Ocampo being at that time first alcalde under Cortes in Mexico, began to remonstrate against the entrance of Garay's force into that country, and several days were passed in remonstrances and replies. During this time numbers of Garay's soldiers deserted from him; thus he saw every day his force diminishing, and that of Cortes encreasing. From his fleet he had intelligence, that two of his ships had been lost in a tempest, and that the remainder, which were at the mouth of the river, had received and rejected a friendly invitation from Vallejo to remove higher up to a place of security, threatening at the same time, that in case of refusal he would consider them as pirates.

Vallejo continued secretly to negociate with the officers of the fleet, and having succeeded with two of them, they went to the ship of the commodore Juan de Grijalva, and informed him that he should either bring his vessel into the river, or quit the place entirely. To this Grijalva only answered by discharging his artillery, but on the receipt of certain letters from Alvarado and Fra Bartholome, accompanied with promises conveyed by a royal notary he was at last induced to accede to the first proposition. No sooner had he brought his ship into port than Vallejo declared all on board prisoners to his general Cortes; he was persuaded however by Fra Bartholome to give them their liberty, from motives of humanity, which as he said was the method of acting most agreeable to God and to Cæsar.

The unfortunate Garay entreated the officers of Cortes to restore his ships, and to compel his troops to return to him, promising to give up his intended establishment, and make the best of his way to the river Palmas. This proposal was acceded to, and every measure taken to deliver up to him his deserters, though with little effect; for the soldiers despised Garay, and as to the oath of service, they said that they had complied with it in coming to Panuco. Garay was then in the utmost despair, and finally agreed to adopt the measure

advised by the officers of Cortes, in writing to that general, stating his situation, and praying his protection in consideration of their former intimacy. This request was acceded to by Cortes, who sent an invitation to him to come to Mexico. Garay set out upon his journey, and when he approached the city of Mexico, he was met by Cortes at the head of a number of Spanish gentlemen on horseback, who conducted him to his newly built palace, and having heard the detail of his distresses, he promised him redress, and referred the affair to Fra Bartholome, Alvarado, and Sandoval. Fra Bartholome, to bind Cortes and Garay in stronger ties of friendship proposed an alliance between the daughter of Cortes, named Donna Catalina Cortes or Pizarro, and the eldest son of Garay, who then held a command in his fleet. Cortes accepting the proposal gave his daughter a liberal fortune, adding an assent to Garay's colonizing on the river of Palmas, and a promise to support the undertaking.

Garay was now induced to intercede with the general, and obtained permission for Narvaez to visit the Island of Cuba; for which favor Narvaez was very thankful, and took his leave of Cortes with many professions of gratitude and service. As to Garay and his expedition, both one and the other approached their end, for he, attending Cortes to early mattins, and having walked about the church, and eaten his breakfast, was suddenly seized with a pleurisy, which after a course of bleeding and purging was declared mortal. This was announced to him by Fra Bartholome, who accompanied the fatal news with earnest exhortations to him, to advert to the state of his soul, and not lose that in the next world, as he had already thrown away his fortune in this. Garay was impressed by the arguments of the good father, and having confessed, and had the rites of the church administered, he made his will, leaving Cortes and Fra Bartholome his executors, and in four days from the time he was first seized he gave up the ghost. This we observe peculiarly to belong to the climate of these countries; that in four days

pleurisies are fatal, of which we had many instances amongst our soldiers, both in Tezcuco and in Cuyoacan. However Garay being now dead, God pardon him his sins! amen. He received an honourable funeral, and Cortes and the other officers put themselves into mourning. Thus died Garay in a distant country, a strange house, and far from his wife and children. As to his armament, being now left without any head a competition arose for the command, between Juan de Grigalva, Gonzalo de Figueroa, Alonzo de Mendoza, Lorenzo de Alloa, Juan de Medina, Juan de Villa, Anthonio de la Cerda, and a certain Tobarda the most seditious fellow in the whole army. The young Garay however was ultimately made general, contrary to the inclination of every soldier; the consequence of which was, that they separated in small bodies of fifteen or twenty, and went through the country pillaging as if they had been amongst Moors. This enraging the Indians they laid a plot to cut all the Spaniards off, which they so effectually executed, that in a few days they had sacrificed and eaten more than five hundred of Garay's soldiers. In some towns upwards of a hundred Spaniards were sacrificed together. In other places they fell on and massacred these wanderers without resistance, and encouraged thereby, they rose against the settlement of St. Estevan in such numbers, that it was with great difficulty they could be kept out of it, nor would they have been, but for seven or eight of the veterans of Cortes, who supported Vallejo, a brave man, and experienced officer. These gallant veterans induced many of Garay's Spaniards to abide by them in the open field, being obliged to fight three battles, in one of which Vallejo was killed, and many were wounded. So desperate did the Indians grow, that one night they killed and burned forty Spaniards and fifteen horses, and among the soldiers who were killed were several of those of Cortes.

When the general heard of these outrages he was exceedingly displeased, and determined to go in person to suppress

them; but being at that moment prevented, having broken his arm by accident, he dispatched Gonzalo de Sandoval, with one hundred infantry, fifty cavalry, two pieces of artillery, and fifteen arcabusiers, to whom he joined eight thousand Mexicans and Tlascalans, with orders not to quit those districts until he had so completely subjugated them, as that it should not be in their power again to make disturbance. Sandoval was a man who did not sleep at night when on any business of importance; of course he made no delay upon his route, towards the enemy, who expected him in two narrow defiles, where they had concentrated the whole force of the refractory provinces. Sandoval on learning this divided his force into two bodies, and attacked each of these posts. The Indians resisted with their darts and arrows, whereby many of our soldiers were wounded, insomuch that he was obliged to halt the body which he commanded in that bad position, and send orders to his other detachment to do the same for that night. The Indians retaining their first position, Sandoval recalled his detachment, and began his retreat towards Mexico. When the enemy perceived this, they thought themselves conquerors, and began to follow and surround the Spaniards from all parts, shouting at, and reviling them. This Sandoval seemed not to regard, but continued his retreat, by which having completely deceived them, he made a sudden countermarch at midnight, to gain the passes. This he effected, but not without the loss of three of his horses, and considerable danger to his whole army, many of whom were wounded. No sooner were his two columns clear of the defiles, than he perceived in front vast bodies of Indians, who had arrived there that very night, on hearing that he had countermarched. He therefore again brought his whole force into one body, and perceiving the desperation with which the Indians fought, and that they had actually wrested the lances out of the hands of six of his soldiers, while his cavalry was composed of men unused to such service, he gave them full instructions how to act, telling

them not to halt to give thrusts, because the first thing that the Indian does when wounded is, to seize the lance. He farther directed, that if such a thing happened, the soldier should put spurs to his horse, and with the lance firmly grasped in his hand, and under his arm, wrest it from the enemy by the force of the horse. Having then placed watches, guards, and patroles, he gave orders that the cavalry should remain saddled all night, and the troops went to their repose on the bank of a river. The Mexicans and Tlascalans were posted at a little distance, for Sandoval knew by experience, that if the enemy attacked him in the night, he would be little benefited by them.

As soon as daylight appeared, Sandoval put his army into march, but had hardly advanced half a mile when he heard the sound of the drums of the Indians, and he was shortly after fronted by three large bodies of their warriors, who attempted to surround him. As soon as Sandoval perceived this, he made an attack upon them with his cavalry in two squadrons with such spirit that he entirely broke and dispersed them. This was not however effected without the loss of two soldiers and three horses. Our allies then made considerable destruction, burning all before them, until the army arrived at St. Estevan del Puerto. The remains of this colony Sandoval found in a wretched state, and he was received as one who saved them from destruction, and the soldiers of Garay who were there assured him, that the preservation of what remained was solely owing to our veterans. Sandoval then divided his cavalry, musqueteers, and cross-bow-men, into different bodies, and placed them under the command of the veterans, with orders to carry on the war with vigour against the neighbouring Indians, and to send in what provisions they could collect, for he was unable to go out, in consequence of a bad wound. During three days his parties sent in a number of prisoners of the lower class, together with five chiefs, the former of whom Sandoval released. He then gave out an order to his troops not to

send in any but such as had been present at, or concerned, where the lives of Spaniards had been lost.

Sandoval now prepared for an expedition against the enemy, and on the day after, marched out with those troops which he had brought from Mexico, and by skilful measures succeeded in taking twenty caciques, who had commanded where no less than six hundred Spaniards had been put to death. Pursuing mild and severe measures at the same time, according to the circumstances, he summoned the neighbouring towns to a treaty of peace. Some acceded to his proposals, but others neglected to attend. With the latter he dissimulated, thinking it best not to notice their contumacy, and wrote to Cortes giving a full account of what he had done, and desiring to know how the prisoners should be disposed of. Cortes on receiving these satisfactory accounts appointed Sandoval to succeed Vallejo, as commandant at St. Estevan, and informed him, that for the sake of justice, and to prevent future mischief, it was necessary to punish with death those who had been any way concerned in, or who had abetted the murders of Spaniards, and he gave directions to the alcalde Diego de Ocampo, to take the necessary steps against them, with orders to execute such as should be legally condemned. He gave orders that every necessary measure also should be taken to conciliate the natives of that province, and that proper steps should be adopted to prevent any future outrages on the part of Garay's troops. These letters, the contents of which were highly satisfactory to Sandoval having reached him, he proceeded conjointly with Ocampo to put the orders of Cortes into execution. In two days after their receipt they proceeded to the trial of those caciques who were accused, and many being found guilty by evidence, or their own confession, were put to death. Some were burnt and others hanged; many also were pardoned, and the districts were given to the children and heirs of such as suffered. These acts of justice being done, Ocampo in compliance with the farther instructions he had received

from Cortes, proceeded against all those Spaniards who had committed outrages, robberies, or murders; or who, going through the country in bands, had invited other soldiers to desert to them; and having seized and collected together these public disturbers, he caused them to embark for the Island of Cuba. To Juan de Grijalva Cortes offered the alternative of accepting a present of two thousand crowns, and a passage to Cuba, or if he preferred staying in the country, an honorable reception at Mexico; Grijalva and all the others were anxious however to return and accordingly they set sail for that island.

Sandoval and Ocampo having thus cleared the colony of these troublesome inmates, returned to Mexico, leaving an officer of the name of Vallecillo governor of the settlement. On their arrival they were received by Cortes and every one there as their services merited, for a general apprehension prevailed of some misfortune occurring on that expedition. Such was the success of the measures pursued as I have above related, that there never was another insurrection in that province.

The reader has been told how the Licentiate Zuazo met with Garay in the Island of Cuba, and that the latter made pressing invitation to him to take a part in his expedition. Zuazo agreed to this proposal, and promised to follow, as soon as he could give up his office. Having effected this he embarked, taking with him two brothers of the order of mercy, Fra Gonzalo de Pontevedra, and Fra Juan de Varillas. These three persons pursuing their voyage, fell among some small islands named Las Viboras, very fatal to vessels. Here, they were obliged to throw overboard their provisions, and the pieces of pork attracted a number of sharks, one of which seized a sailor, and tore him to pieces, so that the whole water round them was discoloured with his blood. They were then obliged to run the vessel on shore, and in this situation they were left. Two Indians of Cuba who were with them had the art of obtaining fire by rubbing two

dry sticks together; in the sand they found some brackish water, and a quantity of turtles came ashore to lay their eggs. Thus they obtained provisions sufficient to sustain thirteen persons. The sailors also contrived to kill the sea wolves which in the night were frequently found on the shore. Amongst the crew were two ship carpenters, who had preserved their working tools. Out of the wreck of the vessel they constructed a small sailing boat in which three mariners and one Indian embarked for New Spain, and made the port of Calchocuca in the river Vanderas. From thence they went to Medellin, and informing the governor of the situation in which they had left the Licentiate, he sent a vessel in search of them. The vessel arrived at the island but Fra Gonzalo died a few days before. The rest, shortly arrived at Medellin; from whence they went to Mexico, where they had all reason to be satisfied with the reception they met with from Cortes, who made Zuazo his alcalde major.

Chapter iv.

Expeditions under various officers.

As the views of Cortes were always lofty and tending towards domination, and as he was well supported by the talents and bravery of his captains and soldiers, after having established his power in the great city of Mexico, and in Guaxaca, Zacatula, Colima, Vera Cruz, Panuco, and Guacacualco, he learned that in the province of Guatimala, there were populous nations, and rich mines. He therefore determined to send a force under Pedro de Alvarado, to conquer and colonize that country, and having first sent an embassy thither, ineffectually, Alvarado at the head of three hundred infantry, and one hundred and thirty five cavalry, two hundred Tlascalans and Cholulans, and one hundred Mexican allies, with four pieces of cannon, was ordered to march to that province.

Cortes gave instructions to Alvarado, that he should if possible bring those nations over to him by peaceable methods, and that Fra Bartholome should preach to them upon the articles of our holy religion; that all prisons and cages should be broken in pieces, and the prisoners set at liberty.

The expedition set out from Mexico, on the thirteenth day of December, one thousand five hundred and twenty three. On his march Alvarado received the submission of the district named the rocks of Guelamo, and there obtained many rich presents of Gold. When the army, passing the provinces of the Zapotecas of Teguantepeque, and by Soconusco, which last place contained upwards of fifteen thousand houses, came into the neighbourhood of a place called Zapotitlan, at a river over which there was a bridge, they perceived a num-

ber of bodies of warriors drawn up to dispute the passage with them. An action ensued in which many soldiers were wounded, and a horse killed. So numerous were the Indians, that the Spaniards could not break or disperse them without three very hard fought battles.

From this place Alvarado continued his march, under constant alarms from the neighbouring Indians of Quetzaltenango, and after some time he arrived at a defile which ascends a mountain, for the length of about a league and a half. When he arrived at the summit, he found there an Indian woman, very fat, and having with her a dog of that species which they breed in order to eat, and which do not bark. This Indian was a witch; she was in the act of sacrificing the dog, which is a signal of hostility. Shortly after, our army perceived multitudes of armed Indians advancing upon them on all sides, in a difficult broken tract of ground, where the cavalry could not charge. The infantry advanced, but our troops soon perceived that these Indians acted upon a regular plan; for they retreated into the most rough and difficult ground, where above six thousand of the warriors of Utatlan, which is adjacent to Quetzaltenango, fell upon our people. They were however for the present put to flight, but soon rallied, being reinforced by fresh troops in great numbers, who waited our advance, and fought our troops foot to foot parties of three or four of them seizing a horse before and behind, and endeavouring to pull him to the ground. During this time the exertions of Alvarado, and the exhortations of Fra Bartholome, who represented to our soldiers the service which they owed to God, and that they must conquer or die, for the extension of our holy faith, never ceased; thus animated, our troops completely succeeded in dispersing the Indians. They then halted in the field and were unmolested by the enemy for three days; after which they advanced to the town of Quetzaltenango.

Meaning to give some repose to his troops, Alvarado was disappointed to find that the Indians were now assembled in

greater force, and determined to attack him in his post. On their approach, to the number of about sixteen thousand, for their army was composed of two Xiquipils, Alvarado drew out his troops in a plain, and advancing upon the enemy, completely defeated them, with such loss, that for a long time after, they remained completely under awe of the Spaniards.

The chiefs now proposed to treat for a peace, and sent ambassadors to Alvarado who received them kindly, but they had at the same time arranged a plan for the destruction of the Spanish force, and it was this. Not far distant was a place called Utatlan, in a difficult country, and surrounded with defiles, whither they persuaded him to march, and it was determined, that when the Spaniards were arrived, they should be fallen on by surprise with the forces of both the districts. Alvarado marched for Utatlan, but on his arrival remarked the bad situation of the place. This town was of considerable strength, having only two gates, to one of which was an ascent of about five and twenty steps, and the other opened to a very bad and broken causeway. The streets were very narrow, and the houses joined; and in case of being attacked, the ground about the town was unfit for cavalry. The Spaniards observed also that the women and common people had disappeared; and some Indians of the place which they had left told them, that warriors were posted in ambuscade round the town, which it was intended that night to set fire to, and that was to be a signal for a general attack.

Alvarado therefore ordered his troops under arms, and marched out into the open country, telling the caciques that it was to give his horses grass. They did not seem pleased with this change, and as soon as Alvarado had his troops clear of the town he seized the cacique who governed it, and reproaching him for his treason, ordered that he should be burnt alive, but Olmedo obtained a respite and permission to use his endeavours to convert him to our holy faith; he accordingly preached an entire day, and at last succeeded, and as an in-

dulgence, instead of being burned he was hanged, and his territory given to his son. Alvarado now fell upon, and and dispersed such of the natives as remained about the town, and his success having become known in Guatimala, previous to his arrival on the frontiers of that nation which was in hostility with the people of Utatlan, they determined to treat; for that purpose they sent an embassy charged with a quantity of gold, and to declare their submission as vassals to his Majesty; they offered at the same time to serve in his wars. Alvarado accepted their submission and their offer of service, desiring them to send to him two thousand of their warriors, which requisition was immediately complied with. As the people had rebelled again, Alvarado continued in the country of Utatlan about eight days, collecting a considerable spoil and many slaves, and then setting forward on his march, he soon arrived at the city of Guatimala, where he was hospitably received.

During this time the greatest harmony prevailed between Alvarado and his troops, and the natives, the chiefs of whom informed him that in their neighbourhood was a nation called the Altitans, who possessed several strong fortresses on the side of a lake, and who refused to come in and make submission. They also represented them as a bad and malicious people. To these Alvarado sent an invitation, but they maltreated the persons who brought it, in consequence of which, he found it necessary to go with an armed force, and taking with him one hundred and forty Spanish soldiers, and two thousand Guatimalans, he marched against them, renewing his offer, which was returned by a discharge of arrows from their warriors, who marched out armed in coats of mail, and sounding warlike instruments. Alvarado put them to flight, and pursued them, with considerable loss, to their fortresses which were over the lake. He then drove them from thence, and making several prisoners, compelled them to take to the water, and cross over to an island. The principal persons whom he had taken, he set at liberty, and bid them go and

use their endeavours to persuade their countrymen to a peace. Between threats and promises Alvarado at length succeeded, after which he returned to Guatimala. Fra Bartholome exerted himself with effect in his holy office, for, erecting an altar and an image of our Lady, he explained the mysteries of our faith to the natives, who imitated our example in adoring the Holy Virgin.

A people who came from a distance towards the south, to make submission, and who were named the Pipiles, told our chief, that in their way was a nation called the Izcuintepeques, of a very malignant and obstinate disposition, who maltreated all such as went through their country. To them he sent an invitation to come in and make submission, which they neglecting, he marched against them with his whole force and a body of his allies of Guatimala, and coming on them by surprise he made great destruction among them. This was an unfortunate event, productive of mischief, and directly contrary to his Majesty's orders. I have now given the reader a summary account of the conquest and pacification of Guatimala and its dependencies, but it may be found at full length as written by Gonzalo de Alvarado. I was not present at it, nor did I go into that province until my return from Higueras. The Indians of this province are not good soldiers; only waiting the attack in broken ground.

Cortes had been informed that the provinces of Higueras and Honduras contained rich mines, and certain sailors also told him, they had met with the natives fishing, and that they used nets which had weights of gold mixed with copper; as also, that a straight, or passage, was probably somewhere about that coast. In compliance with his Majesty's orders, he therefore determined to send a body of troops thither under Christoval de Oli to search for this passage to the Spice Islands, and to make enquiry concerning the mines. As the way thither by land was very tedious and difficult, it was determined he should go by sea, and accordingly six ships were provided, and three hundred and seventy soldiers em-

barked, of whom one hundred were musqueteers and cross-bow-men, and twenty two, cavalry. Five also of the old conquerors of Mexico, the companions of Cortes and his Majesty's veteran servants, who had retired to their houses and repose, were commanded to take up arms again on this occasion; and it was of no use to tell Cortes that any one had served long enough, or suffered hardships, for when Cortes ordered no remonstrances availed. There was also one Briones, a seafaring man, of a seditious disposition, and a bitter enemy to Cortes, and many of the soldiers who embarked thought they had been ill used in the distribution of lands and property.

The instructions given to De Oli were, to sail to the Havannah, to receive provisions and necessaries, and pursue his voyage to Higueras, where he was to make enquiry whether any harbour, straight, or passage lay to the southward; also to search for mines of gold, and silver, and in some commodious situation to build a town, not neglecting the interests of the church, for the extension whereof, two reverend friars, one of whom spoke the Mexican language, were to attend the expedition.

De Oli embarked from Villa Rica, and arrived at the Havannah, where he took on board his provisions and horses and also five persons of those who had come out with Garay, and who had been expelled from the settlement of Panuco for seditious conduct. These persons attached themselves to De Oli, and began to instil their poisonous counsels in his mind, advising him to renounce his obedience to Cortes. Briones also laboured in this, and having concerted matters with Velasquez the mortal enemy of Cortes, it was settled amongst them, that De Oli should put himself under Velasquez, who would support him in his expedition, and also make such representations at court, that the new settlement should be taken out of the hands of Cortes, and the government thereof given to De Oli. This man was of great personal valour, a very good soldier, but unfit to be a

commander; he was at this time about thirty six years of age, and was a native of Baeza or Linares; he had a good person and countenance, a cleft in his under lip, and his voice was rough and fierce; he was endued with many good qualities, being sincere, and for a long time much attached to Cortes; until the ambition of governing, and dislike of being governed, perverted his mind, by the influence of bad advisers. He had been brought up in the house of Velasquez, but was under much greater obligations to Cortes.

De Oli set sail from the Havannah, and on the third of May arrived at his station, which he on that account named El Triumpho de la Cruz. Here he appointed his civil administration, making his alcaldes and regidors of those whom Cortes had recommended to him. He also took possession of the country for his Majesty in the name of Cortes. His motive for doing this was, because he wished to conceal from these persons his secession from his general, and wished to keep them his friends until he could ascertain how the business was likely to turn out; for, if the country was as rich as he had reason to suppose, he intended to throw Cortes off and set up an independent government; if on the other hand, it should appear not to be valuable, he could return to his possessions at Mexico, and gloss over to Cortes his negociations with Velasquez, by pretending it was done in order to put him in good humour, and induce him to give him the necessary supplies. Thus was the new colony of El Triumpho de la Cruz established, from whence no intelligence reached Cortes for upwards of eight months.

In the town of Guacacualco were a considerable number of veterans, and Spaniards of quality, who were entrusted with the government of the province of that name, together with those of Citla, Tabasco, Cimatan, Chontalpa, Cachula, Zoque, the Quilenes, Cinacatan, and Chamuela, Chiapa of the Indians, Papanausta, Pinula, Xaltepeque, Guazpaltepeque, Chinanta, and Tepeque. In the whole of New Spain, the demand of tribute was the signal for an insurrection, and

those who attempted the collection of it were killed, as indeed were all Spaniards who fell into the hands of the natives. In those provinces the resistance was universal, and we were under the necessity of going round from one city or town to another with a company of soldiers, to preserve the peace.

The district of Cimatan being particularly refractory, and Captain Luis Marin being unwilling at that time to send a body of troops thither, it was determined that four neighbours, whereof I was one, should be sent to try if we could bring the people to reason. Accordingly, setting out upon our journey, when we approached the principal town, we dispatched messengers to acquaint the people with our business. When we came nearer to it we were met by a large body of Indians, armed with lances, and bows and arrows, who killed two of my comrades, and wounded me desperately in the throat. My surviving companion after a few blows provided for himself by making off to some canoes by the bank of the river Macapa, so that I was left alone; I however retained sufficiently my senses, to creep into some bushes where recovering a little, I addressed myself to heaven, and implored the aid of our Holy Virgin, beseeching her not to let me die in the hands of those dogs of Indians. Then, feeling my powers return to me, I sallied out, and forcing my passage through the natives, giving many good cuts by the way, I made my escape to where my comrade was in the canoes, with four Indians whom we had brought with us to carry our baggage, which they had thrown away, and which the natives quitted us, to pillage. As it was the will of God that we should not lose our lives on this occasion, we then got across the river, which is very broad and deep, and full of alligators. To avoid the Indians we were obliged to remain eight days concealed in the woods, and from our not appearing, we were all concluded to be lost. As was the custom at that time, our property was forthwith divided amongst the other Spaniards, however at the end of twenty

three days we returned to our town, to the great joy of our friends, and disappointment of those who had gotten possession of our lands and Indians.

Captain Marin now thought proper to go to Cortes to represent the state of affairs, and demand more soldiers. He accordingly set out and waited on Cortes, who gave him thirty soldiers, commanded by Alonzo de Grado, with orders for the whole body of Spaniards to march for the province of Chiapa which was in a state of war. Accordingly we set out for the purpose of reducing it, and of building a town there, to keep the inhabitants in check.

The first thing necessary was to make a road through the woods, in a very marshy country where we were obliged to make causeways for the horses to pass. Proceeding thus, we arrived at a place called Tezpuztlan, and continued our route to another town named Cachula, from whence we proceeded, there being no passage previous to our expedition, from the fear the other natives have of those of Chiapa, who undoubtedly were at that time the bravest warriors in America; they also robbed passengers and travelling merchants, and brought off the inhabitants of these districts to colonize and till their ground, nor could the Mexicans ever subdue them. This our expedition took place in Lent, the year I cannot bring to my recollection, but think it was one thousand five hundred and twenty four. When we came near the city of Chiapa, we made a review of our force, which consisted of twenty seven horsemen, twenty three musqueteers, and a field piece under the direction of a gunner who told us that he had served in Italy; however that was, he was of no use, being a very cowardly fellow. We had seventy foot soldiers armed with sword and target, and about eighty Mexicans. The cacique of Cachula with some of his principal people attended us, trembling with fear; four soldiers of the most active of our little army, of whom I was one, were always sent forward to reconnoitre; the ground not being fit for a horse I left mine behind, and we were usually in front of

the army about half a league. The people of Chiapa being much accustomed to hunting, some of them who were thus employed perceiving us at a distance gave the alarm, and made signals by smoke.

As we approached their first settlement, which is called Estapa, and is distant four leagues from the principal town, we found the roads, which ran through cultivated grounds, wide and convenient; and on each side were plentiful crops of corn, and vegetables. We entered this town, but the inhabitants had quitted it, and having posted our guards and sent out patroles, the remainder went to rest; but we were soon roused by the arrival of two of our out party, who came in at full speed to tell us, that the natives were collecting from all parts to attack us. We stood to our arms, and advanced to meet them out of the town, where a very severe action ensued, for they were provided with darts hardened in fire, war clubs, and lances larger than ours, and also a good defensive armour made of cotton. As the field of battle was very stoney, their slingers did us infinite mischief. They approached us so close that in the first attack they killed two of our soldiers, and four horses, wounded our reverend father, Fra Juan, and thirteen soldiers, and destroyed many of our allies. Our captain, Marin, also was wounded in two places. This action lasted till dark night, when, having made an unsatisfactory experiment of the sharpness of our swords and the effect of our musquetry, the enemy retired, leaving behind them fifteen killed, and many wounded, from two of whom, apparently principal people, we learned, that on the next day a general attack was intended upon us.

The manner in which the enemy had fought convinced us that they were no despicable warriors: for when a cavalry man halted to make a thrust the Indian seized the horse, and wrested the lance out of the horseman's hand, or pulled him to the ground.

On the next day we pursued our route to the city of Chiapa, and a city it might truly be called, from the regu-

larity of its streets and houses. It contained not less than four thousand families, not reckoning the population of the many dependent towns in its neighbourhood. At the distance of about a quarter of a league from the place which we had left, we found the whole force of Chiapa drawn up to receive us. Their troops were adorned with plumage, and well armed, offensively and defensively, and the hills resounded with their shouts on our appearance. It was dreadful to behold the fury with which they threw themselves upon us like enraged lions; as for our black artillery man, and black he was indeed to us, he was so stupified with fear, that he stood trembling and unable to put the match to the gun, and when at last we succeeded in rousing him, he fired the piece with no other effect than that of wounding three of our own men. Our captain gave orders to the cavalry to form in small bodies, and the musqueteers, crossbow-men, and sword and buckler men, to close into one compact battalion, whereby the cavalry and infantry supported each other. The enemy were so numerous that had we not been the men we were, it would have gone very hard with us, and we ourselves were astonished at the bravery of our adversaries; but good father Bartholome stood firmly by us, and administered comfort to us by his exhortations, promising that we should be rewarded for our exertions, both by God and by Cæsar. Our Captain Marin likewise frequently encouraged us, calling out to charge them in the name of St. Jago. We at length forced them to fly before us; but as there were hard by, tracts of very rocky ground where the cavalry could not follow them, fresh bodies of Indians fell upon us by surprise, while we, thinking the day our own, were returning thanks to God and our Lady. Of these troops a number were prepared with long thongs to twist round the horses, and throw them down, and they had also stretched out the nets which they used in hunting, for the same purpose. The enemy attacked us here so desperately that hardly one of our soldiers escaped without a wound; they wrested the

lances from some of our cavalry, and killed two soldiers and five horses. In the centre of their army was a woman, aged, and immoderately fat, who was esteemed by them a goddess, and had promised them the victory. They had also incense in a pan, and certain idols made of stone. This woman, who had her body painted, and cotton mixed with the paint, advanced without any fear among our allies, who were formed by companies, and by whom this infernal deity was in a very short time torn to pieces.

During this time the battle raged, and we and our captain recommending ourselves to our Lady, and beseeching the reverend father to pray for us, threw ourselves into the thickest of it, and forced the enemy to fly, some to the rocks, others to the river, whereby they effected their escape, being excellent swimmers. We then halted to take breath, and our good friar, joined by the soldiers, sang the hymn which begins "Salve &c," and we returned thanks to God for the victory. Our army then advanced towards a town by the side of a river, where we remained the entire day and night, paying particular attention to the concealment of our dead.

About midnight, ten chieftains of the neighbouring districts came down the river which is very broad and deep in five canoes; they disembarked at one of our posts, and were made prisoners. Being brought before our captain, they told him they belonged to a nation called the Xaltepeques, against whom the people of Chiapa had made war; their object was, to offer their support, and to obtain from us a promise, that in case of success against the Chiapans, we should set free from them the nations to which these Indians belonged; in the hopes of which, they promised us assistance to pass the river, which could not otherwise be done. This was very satisfactory to us, and therefore leaving two of their party behind, the rest went immediately to provide twenty canoes. The remainder of the night was passed under a strict watch, for the drums and horns of the enemy were heard, from the banks of the river, where they were collecting to attack us.

As soon as it was light we saw our friends arrive with the canoes; they also shewed us a ford, though a very dangerous one, and were urgent to us to lose no time in passing, to save the lives of some of their countrymen who had been made prisoners. Accordingly we passed the river, formed into a solid column, at the ford, which took us up to our armpits, and where we lost one of our cavalry. On the opposite bank we were assailed by the enemy with such a discharge of darts and arrows, that not one of our party escaped without two or three wounds before we could get out of the water, but vast bodies of other Indians appearing in our rear, and declaring for us, by attacking the Chiapans, they were soon forced to turn their backs and fly towards their city, whither we advanced in good order, with colours flying, and accompanied by our allies. On our arrival there, we found it too close built to be safely occupied by us, and we therefore pitched our camp in the open field. Our captain now sent messengers inviting them to peace, and shortly after, they sent a deputation of their chiefs, praying forgiveness, and requesting to be admitted subjects to his Majesty. They also desired that the neighbouring nations might not be permitted to destroy their houses and plantations, which request was readily granted. When we went into this town we found many prisoners confined in wooden cages, who had been seized by them when travelling. All these were released and sent to their homes. In their temples we found idols of horrid figure, which Fra Juan broke to pieces, and also many remains of men and boys just sacrificed, and other traces of their most abominable customs.

Our captain then sent orders to all the neighbouring nations to come in; amongst the first who obeyed were these of Chinacatan, Gopanaustla, Pinola, Gueguiztlan, Chamula, the Quilenes, and others of the Zoque language, with many more which I do not recollect. These people were much surprised when they perceived with how small a body we had ventured to attack the warlike nation of the Chiapans,

whom the Mexicans never could conquer. Fra Juan preached to them with great success, and many came to him to be baptised.

While this was passing, a certain Spanish soldier, attended by eight Mexicans, went to a town called Chamula, and there demanded without any authority a contribution of gold in the name of his captain. A portion was collected for him, but not satisfied therewith he attempted to seize the cacique, which caused an insurrection in that and a neighbouring town named Guehuistlan. As soon as our captain got intelligence of it, he caused him to be seized, and immediately sent him off by express, prisoner, to Mexico. This man was one who considered himself of consequence amongst us, very evil disposed, and cruel to the Indians.

We then proceeded to Chamula, which in consequence of the above related outrage continued in rebellion. We were assisted on our march by the people of Cinacatan, a polished and mercantile nation, and arriving at Chamula, we found this place strongly fortified by nature, and the inhabitants well armed, having a large kind of shield with which they could cover the whole body, and which when not wanted was rolled up. When we approached we were attacked with showers of arrows, upon which our captain ordered the cavalry to go into the plain, there to watch the insurgents of the neighbouring districts of Quiabuitlan. Our musqueteers then fired upon the enemy, but with very little effect, whereas their missile weapons injured us who were uncovered, materially. We were during this whole day fighting thus, to very little purpose, and when we attempted to force the ramparts, we found them guarded by above two thousand men armed with lances. Finding our endeavours ineffectual, it was determined to procure timber from another town which was depopulated, and to construct of it the machines named burros or mantas, under cover of which twenty men or more could approach, and remain under the walls, so as to work an entrance. We therefore drew off for that time, and

having procured the timber and constructed these machines, we again proceeded to the attack. Under cover of them our men endeavoured to undermine the wall, the enemy throwing down upon us scalding water mixed with blood, fire, and heavy stones, insomuch that we were quite in despair, and forced to retreat to repair the machines, which having done, we again brought them to the walls, and working under them we made different breaches. As soon as the enemy perceived this, they sent up to the top of their ramparts four of their principal persons, priests, and others, who addressed us covered with their thick shields, and told us, that since we wanted gold we might have it; and therewith threw over seven crowns of fine gold, together with a quantity of gold trinkets, and other things made of that metal, cast in the forms of shells and birds; and they also at the same time sent among us fresh showers of arrows, darts, and stones. We had succeeded in making two considerable breaches in the walls, but it was now dark, and a heavy rain began to fall; we were therefore obliged to desist for that night, keeping good watch all round our post, and the cavalry remaining on the plain ground, saddled and bridled. The enemy during the whole night were sounding their warlike instruments, such as timbals, and small trumpets, yelling, and threatening us with destruction on the next day, which they said had been promised to them by their gods.

At day break we again brought forward our machines, to work at their walls, which the enemy defended with the greatest obstinacy, wounding five of our people, and amongst them myself by a thrust, and were it not for the strength of my cotton quilted armour, the lance would have gone through me. Thus we were employed during the whole day, and the evening was drawing on, with a heavy fall of rain and a very thick mist, as is frequently the case in that mountainous country. In consequence of this our captain called us off from the engagement, and about the same time the enemy ceasing to shout and make the noises they had hither-

to done, I, who was accustomed to business of the kind, and also perceived that their lances were rested against the walls, barbicans, and battlements, except about two hundred that still appeared to be in hand, began to suspect they were going to abandon the place; in consequence whereof, I and one of my comrades getting in at a small breach in the wall, to see what they were doing, fell suddenly in upon upwards of two hundred of them in arms, who attacked us with their lances, and would speedily have put an end to us, but that some of our Indian allies who perceived our situation, called out to the rest of our soldiers, who crouded in to where we were surrounded by these Indians, who only composed the rear guard of the garrison, for all the rest, men, women, and children, had evacuated the place by the other gate.

These who remained we quickly put to flight, and pursuing them, we came up with many of the others, and made prisoners several men, women, and children. We now quitted the town, and pursued our route towards Chinacatan, halting for that night at a place where at present the city of Chiapa de los Espanoles is built. Being arrived here, our captain discharged six of his prisoners, with orders to inform their countrymen that if they submitted, he would deliver up to them the whole of those he had taken, which message was delivered, and chearfully complied with.

In consequence of the orders which Cortes had given to our captain, who was also my particular friend, to give me some good situation, I was appointed to the command of this encomienda which I held for eight years. The first thing I did was, to get a reverend father to preach to the Indians, and convert them to the christian faith; we accordingly erected an altar and crucifix, and he preached to them to good effect. The first day we baptised fifteen, to my great satisfaction, for I loved and wished well to them, they being now my own. There was in this neighbourhood a people who inhabited three fortified towns, and were in rebellion against us, named the Gueguestitlans, and it became necessary

to march against and reduce them. Leaving therefore our wounded and baggage behind, the most stout and active among us proceeded against them; they had barricaded all their approaches with fallen trees, which we cleared by the assistance of our Indian allies, and arrived under their fortresses, which appeared likely to give us enough to do, for the first we came to was full of warriors who were well appointed, offensively and defensively. When we mounted to the assault they all fled and left the place to us, but our allies made two of them prisoners, who were immediately released, and sent with offers of peace and good treatment to their friends, on submission. These conditions they accepted and came in, bringing with them some trifling presents of gold, and feathers of the quetzal.

Having thus effected our business here, we proceeded according to the directions of Cortes, to establish a colony. Hereupon there was a difference of opinion amongst us, for some were for it, but others who had plantations and Indians in Guacacualco were adverse, objecting to it as an unfit situation for cavalry, and saying also that our force in its present reduced state was insufficient, the district being populous, and the towns built in the fastnesses of the mountains. Thus our party fell into disputes upon this and other subjects, for our captain, Marin, and Diego de Godoy who was a royal notary and a very busy person, were adverse to the plan. That troublesome fellow Alonzo de Grado, also it appeared, was possessed of a patent from Cortes, giving him an encomienda in the province of Chiapa, when it was reduced to obedience. By virtue of this he demanded from Marin the gold which had been obtained from the Indians of Chiapa, and also that which had been found in the temples, amounting to one thousand five hundred crowns. This Marin refused, alledging that it was necessary to employ it in replacing the horses which had been killed in the expedition. All these differences together brought matters to such an extremity, that our captain put both of them in irons, determining to send De

Grado to Mexico; as to Godoy, by dint of intercession and promises he obtained his release. Godoy made but a very bad return to Marin for his lenity, for he immediately entered into a cabal with De Grado, and it was agreed between them to make a formal complaint to Cortes against him. I was applied to also to write to him in exculpation of De Grado, because they said that Cortes would believe my representations. I did write indeed, but it was to let Cortes know the true state of the case, and by no means charging Marin with any impropriety. De Grado was sent to Mexico under an oath to present himself to Cortes within eighty days; that time being allowed on account of the distance, which is upwards of one hundred and ninety leagues.

It was now determined by us, to chastise those people who killed the two soldiers of that party wherewith I was sent, as formerly mentioned. In our way we marched through a district so very rugged, that the passage was impossible to our horses without assistance, which, on an application to the caciques was readily afforded us. These people are named Tapelola. Continuing our route by the Silo, Suchiapa, and Coyumelapa districts we came to those of the Tecomayatacal and Ateapan Indians. The houses in the chief town, which belonged to my district, joined each other, and formed a very populous and extensive place. Near this was a large and deep river, which it was necessary to pass, and here we were opposed by the people of the town and vicinity, but after a sharp action, wherein we had six soldiers wounded and three horses killed, we put them to flight, they all taking to the mountains and woods, having first set fire to their town. We stayed here five days taking care of the wounded, and having made many of the women of this place prisoners, our captain sent to invite the people to peace, which was accepted, and they returned to their homes. Godoy was averse from this lenity, and told our captain that these people who had revolted without any reason should be punished, or at any rate made to pay for the horses which were killed in the

action. I was of a different opinion, and thought that since they came peaceably they should not be made to suffer; and giving my opinion freely, Godoy became enraged and broke out into angry words, from which we came to blows, and drew our swords. A good many cuts passed between us before we could be parted, and if we had not been so, one or other of us would have lost his life. Marin, who was a good and mild man, saw the impropriety of using harsh measures with these people, and restoring all their property to them, left them in peace.

We continued our march, and passing by other districts of Cimatlan, and Talatiopan, we were assailed by a number of their archers, who gave us a volley whereby above twenty of our soldiers were wounded, and two horses killed; and but that we immediately attacked and drove them from their post, they would have done us much mischief. I must observe, that these are the strongest archers that ever I met with, for they drive their arrows through two suits of cotton mail well quilted; which is a wonderful force. Their country is in great part marsh, which shakes when a foot-man walks upon it. It was therefore in vain to pursue the natives, and as for our offers of peace they treated them with neglect. We therefore thought it best to make our shortest way to our town of Guacacualco. We took our route for it by the district of Guimango, Nacaxa, Xuica, Teotitlan, Copilco, and others which I do not recollect, to Ulapa, and across the rivers Agaqualulco, and Tonala, to Guacacualco, where the killed horses were paid for at a penny a pound.

As to De Grado, when he arrived at Mexico and waited on Cortes, the general was highly displeased with him, telling him to take three thousand crowns and go to the Island of Cuba, and give him and others no farther trouble. De Grado however made such apologies that they were afterwards good friends.

Chapter v.

Transactions in Old Spain.

In the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-one, our most Holy Father Pope Adrian of Lobayana succeeded to the sovereign pontificate. He was then governor of Castille, and resided in the city of Vittoria, where our agents waited upon him to kiss the foot of his holiness. At the same time arrived a great nobleman from Germany, called Mosiur de Lasoa, chamberlain to his Majesty, by whom he was sent to congratulate his holiness on his election. This M. de Lasoa, having heard the heroical actions of the conquerors of Mexico, and the great works they had done for the extension of our holy faith, by the conversion and baptism of so many thousands of Indians, was interested in our behalf, and applied to the Holy Pontiff, requesting him to accelerate the business wherein our agents were employed. This request was readily granted, for independent of what was laid before him by our agents, our holy father had received many complaints against the Bishop of Burgos from persons of high honour and quality, whereby our agents were encouraged to proceed in a formal accusation against him. Those who were most active in the business were Francisco de Montejo, Diego de Ordas, the licentiate Francisco Nunez cousin to Cortes, and Martin Cortes our general's father, who were assisted by many great and powerful noblemen, but principally by the Duke of Bejar; and thus countenanced, they brought forward their charges with great effect.

The first was, that Velasquez had bribed him with a district, with the people of which he worked gold mines. Secondly, that in the year one thousand five hundred and seventeen, when one hundred and ten of us procured vessels

at our own expence and set out for the discovery of New Spain, the Bishop of Burgos informed his Majesty that it was Diego de Velasquez who had done so, contrary to the truth.

Thirdly that Velasquez had sent twenty thousand crowns in gold, which his nephew Juan de Grijalva had obtained, to the bishop, and no part to his Majesty; and that when Cortes sent a present of gold the bishop seized it, suppressing our letters, and substituting others, ascribing the said present to Velasquez. Also that the bishop retained one half of the treasure, and when Puertocarrero applied to him for permission to wait upon his Majesty, he caused him to be seized and thrown into prison, where he died. Also, that he sent orders to the officers of the Casa de Contractacion of Seville, that they should not give any assistance to Cortes. Farther, that he appointed as officers to the military service in New Spain, such as were not fit for it, as was the case in regard to one Tapia, to whom, in order to bring about a marriage between his niece and the said Tapia, he promised the government of New Spain. Also, that he approved for good, the false relations transmitted by the agents of Velasquez, which he forwarded to his Majesty, suppressing those of Cortes which were the true ones. There were besides many other charges, all very well substantiated, and which he could not deny.

These things being all brought to light, his holiness was pleased to order, that the Bishop of Burgos should have no farther authority in New Spain, that Cortes should be declared governor thereof, and that Velasquez should receive compensation for the expences he had been at, and could duly prove. His holiness sent also to New Spain a number of indulgences for the hospitals and churches, and was pleased to direct Cortes and us the conquerors to pay unremitting attention to the conversion of the Indians, adding how much it was the duty of himself and all Christendom to pray for those who had done so much for the advancement of our holy faith. He also was pleased to send to us his holy

bulls of absolution. All this his Majesty graciously thought proper to confirm, so far as relates to the civil and military establishment, adding thereto his order to Velasquez to give up his government of Cuba, on account of his having sent out the armament under Narvaez in defiance of the peremptory orders of the royal chamber of audience, and of the brethren of the order of St. Jerome. The Bishop of Burgos was so affected by the censure which his holiness the Pope passed upon his conduct, and by his Majesty's orders in consequence thereof, that when he retired to his country seat at Toro he fell dangerously ill.

At this period arrived in Old Castille, Pamphilo de Narvaez, and Christoval de Tapia, whom the Bishop of Burgos had created governor of New Spain, together with the pilots Umbria and Cardenas. These persons waited on the bishop to demand his permission to lay their accusations against Cortes before his Majesty, and as the bishop desired nothing better than to hear complaints of Cortes and of us, he shewed them every favour in his power. When the agents of Velasquez perceived this, they gladly joined the party, and all together went to prefer their charges before the Emperor.

They made strong accusations against Cortes; first, that Velasquez fitted out armaments three times to his own great cost, and entrusted the command of the last to Cortes, who broke his engagement. Farther, that when Velasquez sent Narvaez with his Majesty's commission as governor general of New Spain, Cortes made war upon, and defeated him. Also, that when the Bishop of Burgos sent Tapia to take the government of those countries in his Majesty's name, he refused to obey, and by main force compelled him to reimbark. They also accused Cortes of having obtained a quantity of gold in the name of his Majesty, and converting it to his own use; of having taken to himself a fifth of all prizage; of having burnt the feet of Guatimotzin; of retaining the soldiers shares; and building palaces and fortified houses that were as large as whole villages, making the

inhabitants round Mexico work at them, and forcing them to draw large cypress trees, and stones, from a great distance; and that he had given poison to Francisco de Garay, to get from him his troops and shipping. There were many other accusations brought forward, so that his Majesty was at last tired of hearing them, believing them to be true.

Narvaez, when admitted into the Emperor's presence addressed him in his pompous tone of voice, as follows. "Your Majesty must further know, that on the night I was taken prisoner, having your royal commission in my pocket, my eye put out, and in apprehension of being burnt alive, for the apartment was in flames, one of Cortes's captains, Alonzo de Avila at present prisoner in France, violently tore your commission out of my pocket, and when I claimed it, declaring what it was, he denied the fact, and said that they were bonds for money owing me by Spaniards in Mexico, and which I was coming to enforce." At this the Emperor could not refrain from laughing. In regard to the charges, his Majesty said, he would give orders that strict justice should be done; and he forthwith commanded, that certain persons of his royal privy council should be formed into a court of enquiry to hear and decide upon these allegations. The persons who composed this court were Mercurio Catarinario grand chancellor of Italy, De la Soa, and Doctor De la Roche, Flemings, Hernando de Vega lord of Grajales, the Doctor De Garavajal, and the Licentiate Vargas.

This court gave notice to the parties to come forward, and accordingly they produced their charges in the same form that they had been laid before his Majesty. To the charges brought by Velasquez it was replied, that De Cordova was the discoverer of New Spain, who did it with his companions at their own cost, and that Velasquez was here also criminal, in that he ordered him to go to the Island of Los Guanajes, to take Indians by force, and make slaves of them. Farther, that admitting he sent Juan de Grijalva thither, it was not for the purpose of colonization but only for trade. That for

the expences incurred, the principal part was born by the different captains, and not by Velasquez, and these captains had there collected twenty thousand crowns, the principal part of which went to Velasquez. Farther, that Velasquez gave the Bishop of Burgos Indians in the Island of Cuba to procure gold, neglecting his duty to his Majesty. Also, that admitting it was he who sent Cortes, it was by the approbation of his Majesty, and by the providence of God; for that any other commander would have failed in an undertaking of such danger, and that Cortes was not sent by him to colonize, but to barter; and that his establishment in the country was owing, not to the instructions of Velasquez, but the instances of his companions, for the service of God, and his Majesty. Also that it was well known, that Cortes reported the whole of his proceedings to his Majesty, sending therewith all the gold he had been able to procure, he, and his companions, awaiting his Majesty's further orders, prostrate on the earth. It was also represented, how the Bishop of Burgos suppressed the said letters, and seized the presents, concealing from his Majesty our meritorious service; and when our agents wanted to obtain permission to wait on his Majesty, he threw one of them, Puertocarrero, into prison, where he died; and that he forbid the officers of his Majesty at Seville, to furnish us with what we required. All which was done by the said bishop, from a corrupt motive, as he wanted to procure a marriage between either Velasquez or Tapia, and his niece named Donna Petronila de Fonseca, as he had promised that his son-in-law should be governor of Mexico. In support of all which accusations they were ready to produce proofs. As to the expedition of Narvaez, our agents replied, that in the first place Velasquez deserved to suffer death for disobedience of his Majesty's orders; and also, that he applied himself solely to the bishop, neglecting his Majesty, which was a high disrespect; in consequence therefore of the above misdemeanors and crimes, our agents, prayed that the court would be pleased to award punishment;

to which the court replied that they would take it into consideration.

In reply to the charges brought against Cortes by Narvaez it was represented, that on his coming to New Spain he sent word to the great King Montezuma, that he came to rescue him, and thereby caused such a disturbance in the country, as produced a dangerous war. That on his arrival at Vera Cruz, Cortes had written to him a friendly letter, desiring to see his commission, to which Narvaez would make no answer, but declared war against Cortes and his companions, notwithstanding that Cortes invited him to, and represented the necessity of, an amicable junction, for the good of his Majesty's service, lest all should be lost. But Cortes finding that all his offers were neglected, and Narvaez not shewing him his Majesty's commission, and knowing the misconduct of Narvaez in seizing his Majesty's oydor, to bring him to punishment for so doing, went to him, determined to see his authority, and to know the reason of his conduct, and that Narvaez had then attempted to surprise and seize him, of which he could adduce proofs and witnesses, amongst others Andrez de Duero, who was at that time with Narvaez. In regard to his causing the failure of Garay, and poisoning him at breakfast, it was replied that the failure of the expedition was owing to Garay's own misconduct, and ignorance of the country. That when Garay found his situation hopeless, he accepted the friendly offer which Cortes had made him, of an hospitable reception at Mexico, where an alliance was agreed upon between the families, and Garay was to have had assistance to establish a colony on the river Palmas; and that if it was God's will to take him from this life, according to the oaths of the physicians, by a pleurisy, it was not in the power of Cortes to prevent it. Cortes also proved in answer to the charge of having retained his Majesty's fifth, that he had fairly expended it in the service, together with six thousand crowns of his own property: that the fifth which he deducted for himself was according to compact, and in regard

to the charge of detaining the soldiers prize money it was replied, that in the capture of Mexico very little gold remained to be divided, inasmuch as the wealth of the place was almost all fallen into the hands of the Tlascalan and Tezcucan allies. In regard to burning the feet of Guatimotzin, it was done contrary to the inclination of Cortes, by his Majesty's officers, to force him to discover where Montezuma's treasure was concealed. In answer to the charge of his buildings it was stated, that they were truly sumptuous, and that the cypresses and stones were brought from a great distance, but that the said buildings were for the use and honor of his Majesty and his successors: that the materials were brought the principal part of the way by water, and that the work was carried on by the general labour of the Indians, under the order of Guatimotzin, as is always the case in building the houses of the great in that country. As to the complaint of Alonzo de Avila forcibly taking the commission from Narvaez, it appeared upon inspection that there was no commission whatever in those papers, the whole of which were receipts for the purchase of horses, and other things similar; but that Cortes never saw them, nor was it done by his order. In regard to the complaints of the pilots against Cortes, the feet of Umbria were cut off by the hand of justice, as a punishment for running away with his ship, and Cardenas had refused to take his share in the division of the gold, consenting that the whole should be sent to his Majesty, but that Cortes had given him out of his own purse three hundred crowns, which was as much as he deserved, being a person of little consideration, and no soldier. In regard to the charge relative to Tapia, it was alledged that had he come to Mexico and produced his Majesty's orders, they should have been received by Cortes, prostrate on the ground, with all respect, and humility; but his incapacity was so notorious, that it was the universal desire, and advice, of the Spaniards then in New Spain, that Cortes should remain in the command. These charges and exculpa-

tions having been duly weighed by the court for five days, it was determined to lay the whole of the proceedings before his Majesty, together with their decision, which was accordingly done. The sentence which they gave was entirely in favour of Cortes: the merit and valour of him and the old conquerors of Mexico were highly praised, and silence was imposed on Velasquez as to his complaints, he being told that if he looked for a remuneration of his expences he must seek it from Cortes by course of law. Cortes was also declared governor general of New Spain, according to the orders of his holiness the Pope. The court also approved of the arrangements made by him in that country, and authorized him to make the divisions of the districts in such a manner as he thought fit. Narvaez was referred for redress to France, where Avila who had seized his papers was at present prisoner; the pilots Umbria and Cardenas obtained royal cedules, granting to them property in New Spain to the amount of one thousand crowns in rent; and it was ordained, that Cortes's veterans should all have immediate and ample gratifications, in lands and Indians, and should enjoy pre-eminence and precedency, such as their valour deserved. The sentence thus given was taken to Valladolid to be confirmed by his Majesty, who was then on his way to Flanders, and who did confirm and ratify it accordingly. His Majesty also gave orders relative to the banishment of lapsed converts in that country, and forbid the admission of scholars for a term of years. His Majesty and the King of Hungary were also pleased to write to Cortes and to us, thanking us for the services we had rendered. The affair being thus decided in our favour, the documents were intrusted to Rodorigo de Paz, cousin to Cortes, and to another relation of his, named Francisco de las Casas, who arrived at St. Jago in Cuba, the residence of Velasquez the governor, where the sentence being made known to him, and proclaimed by sound of trumpet, he fell ill from vexation, and shortly after died very poor and miserable. Montejo was given by his Majesty

the government of Yucatan and Cozumel, with the lordship and title of Don. To Diego de Ordaz he confirmed his possessions in New Spain, and ennobled him giving him for a coat of arms the Volcano of Guaxocingo, and with these honours and emoluments they returned to Mexico, from whence in two or three years De Ordas went back to Castille, to obtain from his Majesty permission to conquer the province of Maranion, in which undertaking he lost his life and all his property. The Bishop of Burgos was reduced to despair when he learned the manner in which the affair had gone, and that all his transactions with Velasquez had come to light.

When Las Casas and Rodrigo de Paz brought the intelligence to Mexico, that Cortes was appointed governor of that country, there was universal rejoicing. The messengers were liberally rewarded, Las Casas being made captain and presented with a good district called Anquitlan, and De Paz obtained other valuable possessions, and was appointed by Cortes his major domo and secretary. To all those who came from his country of Medellin, Cortes gave Indians, and to the captain of the vessel a liberal reward in gold.

Some readers may be curious to learn how these matters came to my knowledge; to which I reply, that the conquerors received information of the proceedings of our agents or procuradors, in four or five letters written by them from Castille; but I used then to say often, that it appeared to me that they procured only for Cortes and themselves, and during all that time, we who had made Cortes what he was, remained encountering one danger and hardship after another. May God grant us his protection, and instil into the mind of our great Cæsar the determination to cause his true and just intentions to be carried into effect.

Chapter vi.

Transactions and occurrences in Old and New Spain. Expedition against the Zapotecans.

It appeared to us, the most ancient, wise, and experienced conquerors of Mexico, that Cortes ought now to consider duly who were his friends, and stood by him through the whole of his difficulties and dangers, from the first, and to settle his accounts with Pedro, with Sancho, and with Martin, according to their deserts; which was to be done by recalling to him those who were low, and poor, and unfortunate, and by placing them in good situations, according to their deserts, and his Majesty's orders. All this Cortes was bound in duty to do, as also to procure for us and our children all the good offices, and emoluments, that were to be had in this country of New Spain. But, "that which does not grow from the skin, hangs loosely to it;" and so it appeared, for instead of doing this he procured such for no one but himself, as in the first place the government, and afterwards when he went to Castille, and got his title. But to advert to other matters. In regard to the division of the country, it was decided by many of the most experienced, brave, and sage conquerors thereof, that the proper method would be, to divide it into five parts, one whereof should go to his Majesty, another to be for the establishment and revenues of our holy church, and the other three to be given to Cortes, and the rest of us, the true original conquerors of the country; that each should have a share in perpetuity, and in proportion to his rank and deserts, and that we, for our parts, who had served his Majesty here, without putting him to the least cost, and as one may say without his knowledge, he being in Flanders, would be well satisfied therewith, and contented, and at our

ease, not wandering about the world as is at present the case, and falling from bad to worse; for many of us at this moment are without a morsel of bread to eat, and God knows what will become of our children.

I will now relate what Cortes did, and which I call a very unfair distribution. To the Veedor Chirinos, the Factor Salazar, J. de Ribera and all those who came from Medellin, and to the dependents of great men who flattered and told him pleasing things, he refused nothing. Not that I blame him for being generous, for there was enough for all; but I say that he ought to have first considered those who served his Majesty, and whose valour and blood made him what he was. But enough of this, and now to other matters, for it is useless detailing our misfortunes, and how he treated us like vassals, and how we were obliged to take to our old trade of expeditions and battles; for though he forgot us in his distribution of property, he never failed to call on us when he wanted our assistance. However before I take leave of the subject let me mention, that when Luis Ponce de Leon came to supercede Cortes, we went to the general, to request that he would give us some part of that property which his Majesty had at that time ordered that he should resign. He then told us, and swore it, that if he returned to his government he would provide for us all, and not do as he had done, for which he was very sorry. As if we were to be satisfied with promises and smooth words.

There had lately arrived certain officers of his Majesty from Old Castille, amongst whom were Alonzo de Estrada the treasurer, Gonzalo de Salazar the factor, Rodrigo Albornos the contador, (Juan de Alderete being dead,) Pedro Almindes Chirinos the Veedor, and many others.

One Rodrigo Rangel whom I have already mentioned, now came to Cortes, telling him that he had hitherto acquired no fame in the wars, and wished to have a command given him, wherewith to go and conquer the Zapotecans who were in rebellion, and to take with him Pedro de Ircio as his

private counsellor and director. Cortes knew very well this man was not fit for any service, being a poor diseased miserable object, from the effects of his sins; he therefore put him off, telling him that nation was not easily to be conquered on account of the high rugged mountains which they inhabit, and which are always covered with mists and clouds; as also that cavalry could not be brought against them, on account of the bad and narrow roads which it was necessary to climb like ladders, each soldier's head at the heels of his file leader. However at last Cortes agreed to the proposal of this man who was a fellow of a very slanderous tongue, and one whom he would have been glad to have got rid of in this way where he was likely to lose his life. The general in consequence wrote to ten or twelve of us who were in Guacacualco, desiring that we should go with him, and I was one of the number thus selected. These Indians are a light and very active people, and when in the field have a way of whistling and shouting, which makes the hills and woods resound again. Having this man with us it was impossible to effect any thing, and as we advanced under a very heavy rain, we came to a village of scattered houses, some being upon a ridge, and others in the valley. Poor Rangel whined and complained all the way of the pain of his limbs, to our great annoyance, knowing it was entirely useless trouble and danger, and that the Indians who were so nimble would destroy us climbing the rocks in one file, if they made a stand any where. It was at last agreed, as Rangel grew worse and worse, to abandon the black expedition as we used to call it, and return to our homes. His counsellor also as he called him, Pedro de Ircio, was the first to advise him to it, and setting the example by following his own advice, went home to his town of Villa Rica. Rangel however preferred accompanying us to Guacacualco, which was more grief to us than going with him in his expedition. He had hopes that the hot climate of that country, as he said, would relieve him of his pains.

No sooner had we arrived at this place then he took in his head to go upon an expedition against the Indians of Cimaton and Tatupatan, who were rebellious, for they thought themselves secure amongst their great rivers and trembling marshes. They were also formidable warriors, using very large and strong bows. Rangel however produced his commission from Cortes, and we dare not but to obey and march with him, to the number of one hundred horse and foot. We accordingly set out, and arrived at a pass between the marshes and lakes, where the whole force of the Indians was drawn up to receive us, having made circular barricades of very gross timber, with spike holes to shoot through, and pallisadoes. Here they gave us a hearty welcome with a flight of arrows and darts, killing seven horses and wounding Rangel and eight soldiers. We had often told him what stout warriors these Indians were, and as he was a prating fellow he now exclaimed, by heaven, if he had believed us, he would not have been in that jeopardy now, and that in future we the old conquerors of the country should be his captains and not he ours. As soon as our wounded men and horses were dressed, he begged I would go forward to reconoitre. I took with me a very fierce greyhound which belonged to him, and selecting two other soldiers for my comrades, desired the infantry to follow us close, and for Rangel and the cavalry, that they should keep a good distance in the rear. Pursuing our route towards Cimaton, we fell in with another post fortified like the preceding one, and defended as strongly, from whence we received a volley, which killed the dog, and wounded me and each of my comrades. I received an arrow in my leg, and seven more remained in my cotton armour. I called immediately to some of our Indian allies who were a little in rear of us, to go and bring up all the infantry, but to order the cavalry not to advance, as all their horses would surely be killed. When the infantry came up we attacked the barricades, and forced the Indians from them, driving them to their marshes where it was

impossible to follow them a step, without danger of sinking and being smothered. We then advanced, and halted at a village. On the next day we proceeded, and were encountered by a large body of Indians, posted in a marsh. This was an instance of the address of the natives, in chusing to meet us in the plain, hoping that they could draw our cavalry to charge them, in expectation that galloping full speed they should run into the marsh, and so it happened; for in spite of all we could say to Rangel of their art and stratagem, and how necessary it was to be wary, he ran his cavalry full at them, and tumbled in himself the first, head foremost into the marsh, where the Indians began to close upon him, in order to seize him alive for sacrifice.

By great exertions, we got him, badly wounded, out of their hands, half drowned, and his poor sore head exposed and broken. As this country is very populous, we found a village hard by, whither we went to take repose and dress the wounded. It was abandoned on our approach, but we had hardly been there a quarter of an hour when we were attacked with such violence, that in the first onset they killed one of our soldiers and two horses, and we had much to do to drive them off. All this time Rangel was complaining of his wounds and bruises, and the musquitos got about him in clouds. The vermin also with which that country is infested, bit him to such a degree that his life was insupportable, for he could get no rest day or night, and the rain fell incessantly. He, and some of Garay's soldiers whom he had brought with him, seeing that nothing had been got but three very hard fought battles, and that eleven horses and two soldiers had been killed and many more wounded, began to grow very sick of the business, and to wish to be quickly at home. But Rangel did not wish to have it appear that this retreat was a choice of his, and therefore summoned a council of such as he knew were of his own opinion.

About twenty of us had at this time gone to see if we could make any prisoners among some gardens and planta-

tions hard by; we took five, and on my return Rangel called me aside and told me that the council had determined to retreat, desiring me to bring over the rest to it. Having known the man before, I had a kindness for him. How sir, said I to him can you now think of returning? What will Cortes and the world say of you, when they hear of your retreat without effecting any thing in these two expeditions? You surely cannot think of returning till you have reached the head town of these Indians! I will go forward on foot and reconoitre with the infantry, give my horse to another soldier, and do you follow in the rear with the cavalry. By heavens cries out Rangel, for he was a very loud talker, Bernal Diaz gives good advice; the lot is cast and we will march on. This was accordingly done, contrary to the inclination of several, and we advanced in good order to Cimaton, the principal town, where we were saluted as usual with a flight of arrows, and then, on entry, found it abandoned. We burned it in part, and took several Indians whom we dismissed, desiring them to invite their neighbours to peace and amity; but those we sent never returned to us. This enraged Rangel against me, and he swore I should procure him Indians in the place of those who had been liberated. To pacify him I was fain to go with thirty soldiers, and we picked up some among the marshes, whom I brought to him and he dismissed, in hopes of inducing the rest to come in, but without effect. Thus ended the famous expedition against the Zapotecans, and such was all the fame Rangel acquired in the wars. In two years afterwards we effected the conquest of these countries, the natives whereof were converted to our holy faith, through the grace of God, and the exertions of the reverend father Bartholome de Olmedo, who poor man was at that time grown weak and infirm. Pity it was, for he was an excellent minister of the gospel.

Cortes had now collected eighty thousand crowns in gold, and a golden culverin, which he named the Phœnix, and had caused to be made as a present for the Emperor, was finished.

It was a superb piece of workmanship. The following motto was engraved on it.

"Esta Ave nacio sin par; Yo en servir os sin segundo;
Y vos sin igual en el Mundo.

"The immortal Phœnix peerless sweeps the air;
To Charles is given boundless rule to bear;
Zealous to conquer, at my King's command,
I in my services unrivalled stand."

This present was sent to Europe under the care of Diego de Soto. I am not certain if J. de Ribera, formerly secretary to Cortes, went with it. I always thought him a bad kind of man, from what I observed in him at play, either with cards or dice: besides this he had many ill qualities.

He however was sent to Castille, and took a sum of money with him for the general's father; which money he appropriated to his own use, and then, unmindful of the obligations he had received, said much ill of Cortes; and being very flippant and fluent of speech, and having been his secretary, he obtained credit for what he said, and combining with the Bishop of Burgos and others, did him much harm; and would have done more had it not been for the interference of the Duke of Bejar, who protected Cortes on account of a treaty of marriage which was then on foot, between our general and a niece of that Duke, named Donna Juana de Zuniga. This, combined with the seasonable arrival of the present, gave a favourable turn to the affairs of Cortes.

In regard to the golden Phœnix, I must observe, that the motto gave great offence to many, as they thought it presumption in Cortes to say he had no equal in his services. But his friends justly defended him; for who had extended so far the fame and power of his Majesty, or brought so many thousands of souls to the dominion of our holy church? They also did not forget us his associates, but declared that

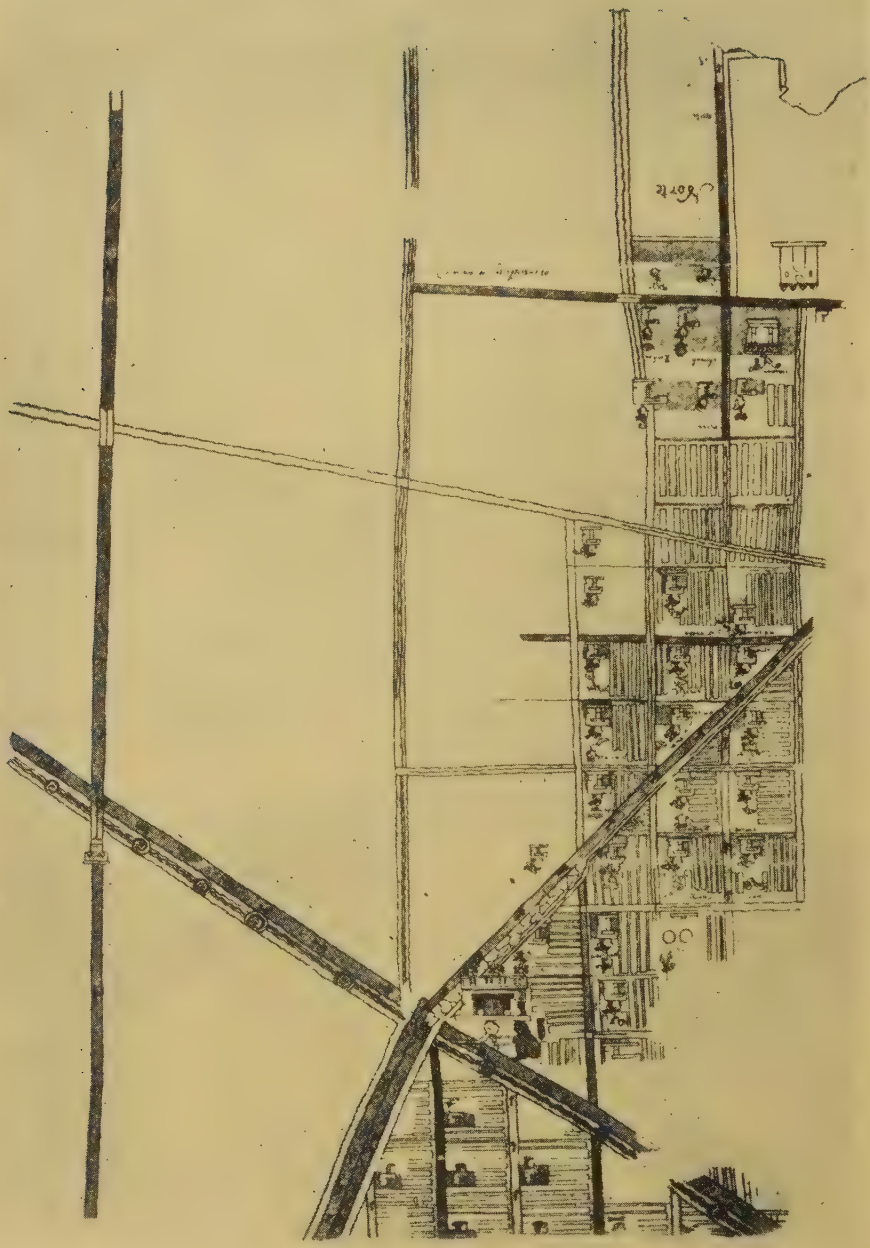
we also were intitled to honours and emoluments, having earned them, as the Castillian nobility did those enjoyed by their descendants.

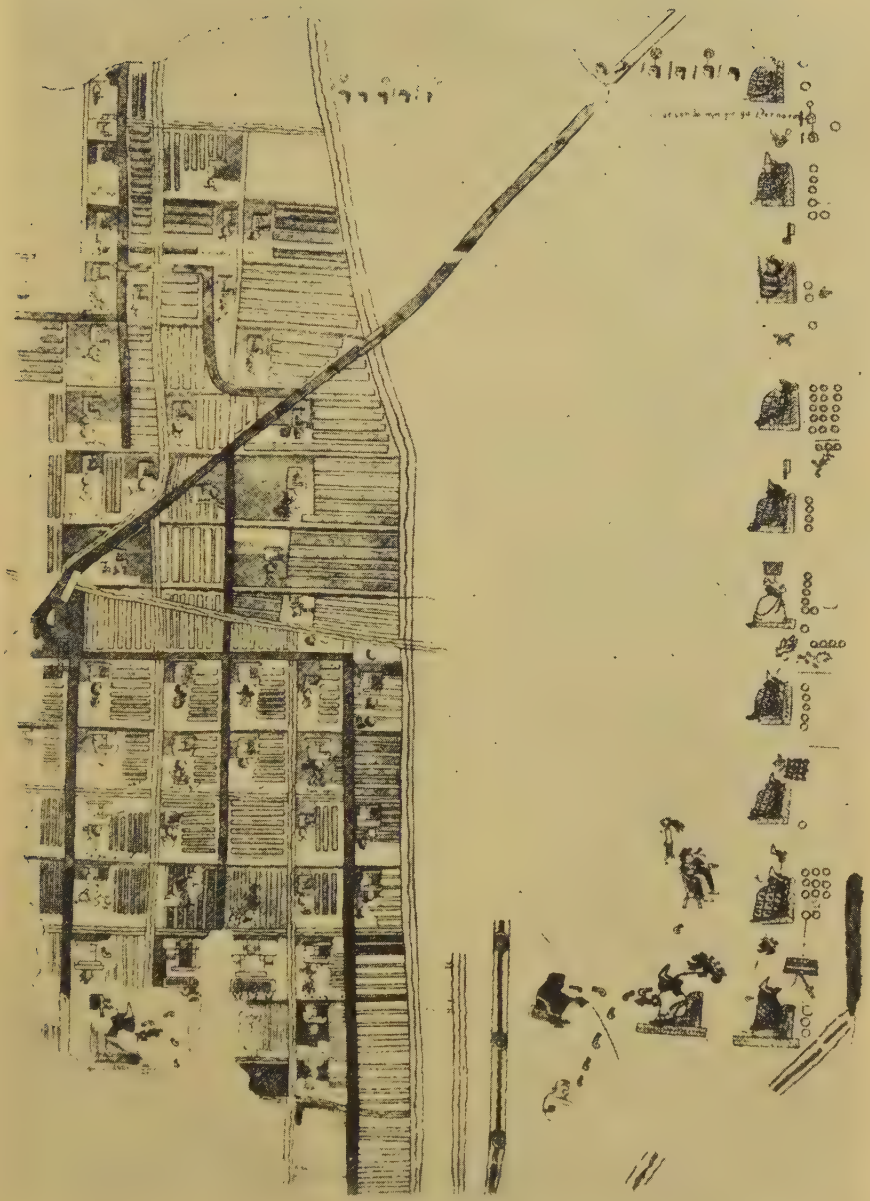
As to the culverin, it went no farther than the city of Seville; his Majesty was pleased to make a present of it to Don Francisco de los Cobos, commendador major of Leon, who melted it down. Its value amounted to twenty thousand ducats.

A suit was commenced by Martin Cortes against Ribera, on account of the money of which the latter had defrauded him. While it was yet pending, and as Ribera was on a journey, he stopped to dine at the town of Cadahalsa, where, eating some broiled meat, he fell down dead suddenly, and without confession. God pardon his sins! Amen.

Cortes continued to rebuild and embellish the city of Mexico. It was now as well peopled by the natives as it had ever been before. He gave them privileges, exempting them from all tribute to his Majesty until their houses were completed, as also the causeways, bridges, public edifices, and aqueducts. In the Spanish quarter churches and hospitals were erected, under the care of the good father Bartholome de Olmedo, as vicar and superior. This reverend father had also established an hospital for the natives, to whom he paid the utmost attention.

In compliance with our petition to his Majesty, as formerly related, Don Francisco de los Angeles, general of the Franciscans, sent twelve of his order under the vicarage of father Martin de Valencia. Amongst them came father Toribio de Motolinea; this sirname, the meaning of which is, the poor brother, was given him by the Mexicans, because all that he got in charity he distributed in the same manner, and was frequently without a morsel to eat. He also always went barefooted, and wore a tattered habit, and constantly preaching to the natives, was very popular among them. As soon as Cortes was informed of their arrival at Villa Rica, he gave directions for the road to Mexico to be put in good





PORTIONS OF AN AZTEC PLAN OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF MEXICO, NOW PRESERVED IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF MEXICO.

order, houses to be built at proper stations for them to refresh in, and the inhabitants of all the towns to go out to receive them with reverence, ringing the bells, bearing crucifixes and lighted wax candles, and the Spaniards to kneel down and kiss their hands. When they approached Mexico, he went out to meet them and as soon as they appeared, Cortes threw himself from his horse to kiss the hands of the reverend vicar. When the natives saw the general on his knees to those reverend fathers, with bare feet and in tattered habits, they were astonished, and considering them as gods, they all followed his example, and have continued to do so ever since.

Cortes at this time thought it necessary to inform his Majesty of his proceedings in the conversion of the natives, the rebuilding of the city, and the expedition which he had sent against the province of Honduras under the command of De Oli, who had deserted, and embraced the party of Velasquez, on which account he had determined to send a force against him. He also complained of the proceedings of Velasquez, and of the injury his Majesty's service had sustained thereby, as also by the partiality of the Bishop of Burgos. He remitted at the same time thirty thousand crowns in gold to his Majesty's treasury, and lamented the unfortunate effects of those abuses, as having prevented him from making an ampler contribution of gold. He at the same time complained of one Rodrigo de Albornos, contador in Mexico, who aspersed him from private motives, because he had refused to give him in marriage the daughter of the Indian lord of Tescuco, adding that he understood that this Albornos was attached to the interest of the Bishop of Burgos, and was accustomed to write to him in cyphers.

At this time the news of the bishop's removal had not reached Mexico. Albornos, before mentioned, sent by the same vessel his accusations against Cortes, charging him with levying excessive contributions of gold for his own use. That he was fortifying castles, and marrying the daugh-

ters of great lords to his private soldiers, insinuating that Cortes was endeavouring to set himself up as an independent king, and strongly representing the necessity of sending an officer with a great force, to supercede him. These letters came to the hands of the Bishop of Burgos, who laid them before the whole junto of the enemies of Cortes, and this new matter was immediately brought before his Majesty. They complained of the partiality which they alledged was shewn towards him on former occasions, and his Majesty, deceived by these misrepresentations, which were enforced by the bold and lofty tone of Narvaez, now issued an order for the admiral of St. Domingo to go with six hundred soldiers to arrest Cortes, and make him answer if he found him culpable, with his head. Also to punish all those of us who had been concerned in the attack upon Narvaez. As an encouragement, this officer was promised the admiralty of New Spain, the right of which was now under litigation in the courts.

The admiral, either from want of money, or being apprehensive of serious consequences from committing himself against so able and so successful a leader as Cortes, delayed setting out upon his expedition so long, that it gave time to the friends and agents of Cortes to make a full explanation of the circumstances, and also of the conduct of Albornos, to the Duke of Bejar, who immediately went to wait upon the Emperor, to represent the true state of the case, and to offer his life as a security for the loyalty and good conduct of Cortes.

His Majesty being upon due consideration convinced of the justice of our cause, determined to send a person of high quality and sound judgment, and one who feared the Lord, to hold a supreme court of justice in New Spain. Such a person he found in the licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon, cousin to the count Don Martin de Cordova. To him his Majesty intrusted the business of enquiry into the conduct of Cortes, with full power to inflict the greatest punishment, in case he

should find him guilty. It was however two years and an half before this gentleman arrived in New Spain.

I have now gone beyond the date of my narrative two years in advance, to inform the reader of this circumstance; and I may now also mention, that during the viceroyalty of Don Anthonio de Mendoza, that most illustrious nobleman, worthy of eternal memory and heavenly glory, for his wise and just government, this same Albornos wrote slanderous and malignant letters of him, as he had done before of Cortes. The letters which related to Don Anthonio were all returned from Castille, into the hands of that nobleman, and when he had read them, with all the personal abuse of himself that they contained, he sent for Albornos, and shewing them to him, said in his mild and slow manner of speaking, "whenever you choose to make me the subject of your letters to his Majesty, mind that in future you tell the truth; and now go about your business, for a knave as you are." Thus he left the contador, overwhelmed with confusion.

Chapter vii.

Expedition of Cortes to Higueras.

De Oli I have already mentioned as having revolted. When Cortes received intelligence of this, it made him very pensive; but as he was one not to be trifled with in such cases, he determined to send a gentleman who was his relation, by name Francisco de las Casas, with five ships, and one hundred well provided soldiers, having with them some of the original veteran conquerors of Mexico.

Las Casas set out from the port of Vera Cruz, with his good ships, and his pennants flying, and with fair winds arrived at the bay named El Triumpho de la Cruz, where De Oli had established his post. Although Las Casas hoisted the signal of peace, De Oli determined upon making resistance, and embarking a number of soldiers in two armed vessels, he sent them to oppose Las Casas, who being a brave man was determined to land at all events; he therefore ordered out his boats and arming them with swivels and musquetry, attacked the other party, and sunk one of their vessels, killing four soldiers and wounding many. When De Oli saw this he thought it advisable to propose terms of peace, for a considerable part of his soldiers were detached up the country, in search of another body of troops which was making conquests there, about the river Pechin. This last mentioned party was commanded by a Captain Gil Gonzalez de Avila.

De Oli as I have already related being in expectation of the return of his detachment, wished for a truce with Las Casas, which the latter for his misfortune agreed to, and remained at sea, partly in the intention of looking out for some other place of disembarkation, and partly induced by letters

from the friends of Cortes who were in the troops commanded by De Oli. On that night a hard gale sprung up, by which our vessels were driven on shore and entirely lost, with above thirty of the soldiers. The rest were made prisoners, after being two days without food, and almost dying with cold, being thoroughly soaked in the salt water and with rain which at that season fell very heavily. De Oli was very triumphant on this occasion. He made his prisoners swear fidelity to him against Cortes, releasing them all except Las Casas. The parties he had sent out against Gonzalez de Avila returned about this time. It seems that Avila came there as governor of Golfo Dolce, and had founded a town which he named St. Gil de Buena Vista. De Oli on hearing of it sent his troops against him, who in their first attack had taken Avila prisoner, killed his nephew, and also eight of his soldiers. De Oli was now in great state with two captains as his prisoners, and that all might know his valour which certainly was very great so far as his own person was concerned, he wrote a full account of his exploits to his friend Velasquez. He afterwards marched up the country to a place called Naco, in a very populous district, the whole of which is now destroyed. While De Oli remained here, he sent out troops on different excursions; among others he sent a party under one Captain Briones who was the first to instigate him to revolt. He was a seditious fellow, and the lower parts of his ears had been cut off, as he used to tell us, for refusing, together with other officers, to surrender themselves in a certain fortress. This man was afterwards hanged in Guatimala for mutiny. To return to my narrative, intelligence came to De Oli, that Briones with his whole body had revolted from him, and gone to New Spain, which turned out to be the case.

Las Casas and De Avila being at large, though prisoners, for De Oli was too brave to be under any apprehensions from them, concerted a plan with some soldiers to put him to death, the signal for which was to be the words, "To me,

friends of the King and Cortes, kill the tyrant!" Las Casas half in jest as it were, and laughing, then asked him for liberty to return to Cortes; to which De Oli replied, that he was too happy to have so brave a man for his companion, and did not choose to part with him. "Then," said Las Casas in the same manner, "take care that one of these days I do not kill you." All this the other considered as a joke; but the measures were taken, and one night after supper, when the cloths were taken away, and the servants and pages had sat down in their apartment, as Juan Nunez de Mercado and other soldiers of the party of Cortes, Las Casas, and Avila, were conversing with De Oli upon the affairs of Mexico, and the fortune of Cortes, he being entirely unsuspicious of their designs, the conspirators suddenly drew out penknives and fell upon him. Las Casas seizing him by the beard made a cut at his throat, and the others gave him several wounds; but such was his strength and activity of body, that he escaped out of their hands for the present, calling aloud to his people for assistance, but they were all too busily employed at their suppers to hear him. He then fled, and concealed himself among some bushes, in hopes of assistance. Many were in the act of coming to him for the purpose, but were deterred by the cries of Las Casas not to assist the tyrant, but to rally on the side of their King, and his general Cortes. They first hesitated, and then obeyed; and Las Casas immediately gave notice, that whoever knew where De Oli was, and did not immediately reveal it, should suffer death. Information was soon given, in consequence of which he was made prisoner, and, by sentence of the two captains, beheaded in the town of Naco, thus paying with his life for having followed evil counsels; being a very brave man, but of no foresight. Cortes had conferred many favours on him; he held a commission of Maestre de Campo, had valuable estates, and was married to Donna Philippa de Aranja, a handsome Portugueze lady, by whom he had one daughter.

Las Casas and Avila being now free and their enemy dead,

joined their troops together, and acted in concert. Las Casas colonized Truxillo in Estremadura; Avila sent a message to his lieutenant in Buena Vista, ordering him to remain as he was, and that he should shortly receive reinforcement, which he was going to request from Cortes at Mexico. The two captains having set out for that city, I will now take my leave of them for the present.

Cortes, in some months after the departure of Las Casas, began to grow apprehensive of a disaster; not that he entertained the least doubt of the valour or conduct of that officer, but he repented, under the circumstances of the case, that he had not taken the command himself. He was also anxious to examine the state of that province, more especially its mines, and for these reasons now determined to set out upon his journey thither. He appointed a good garrison to take charge of the city of Mexico during his absence, and provided the different posts with artillery, leaving as his deputies in the government, the treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and the contador Albornoz. Cortes did not know the secret services the latter had been rendering him at court, or he probably would not have left him in power, although on the other hand it is possible, that he could not have avoided it. He appointed the licentiate Zuazo alguazil major of the city, and as alguazil major and agent in his private concerns, Rodrigo de Paz. To these he strongly insisted on the strictest attention, both to the interest of his Majesty, and the conversion of the natives. This he also recommended to the worthy fathers Motolinea and Olmedo, both holy men.

In order to deprive the Mexicans of chiefs, in case they should attempt to rise, he took with him Guatimotzin the late king, the chief of Tacuba, Velasquez an Indian and captain under Guatimotzin, and several others. There came also with us Fra Juan de las Varillas, another clergyman, two reverend fathers, Flemings, and good theologians, to preach the faith, and the captains De Sandoval and Luis Marin, with many other cavaliers. The suite, or officers who at-

tended the person of Cortes were as follows; a steward and paymaster, a keeper of the plate, a major domo, two stewards of the household, a butler, a confectioner, a chamberlain, a physician, a surgeon, a number of pages of his household, amongst whom was D. Francisco de Montejo afterwards captain in Yucatan, two armour bearers, eight grooms, two falconers, five musicians, a stage dancer, a jugler and puppet player, a master of the horse, three Spanish muleteers. The general brought a great service of gold and silver plate, and a large drove of swine for his table followed feeding by the way. Three thousand Mexican warriors attended their chiefs, besides a numerous train of domestics.

When the party was on the point of setting out, the factor Salazar, and the veedor Chirinos, either seeing or affecting to see much danger likely to result from Cortes quitting the seat of government, and finding also that they had not been left in any station during his absence, remonstrated with him, but finding it to be to no purpose, they then requested permission to accompany him as far as Guacacualco. To this he gave his consent, and they accordingly set out. Cortes was received in all the places upon his way with such pomp and rejoicing as is not in my power to describe. Above fifty soldiers and straggling travellers newly arrived from Castille joined him upon the road, and the general divided his troops in two parties, until their arrival at Guacacualco, for the greater convenience of obtaining provisions.

During the journey, the veedor and factor kept themselves close to Cortes, especially the latter, playing a hundred tricks of servility and obsequiousness, and every word he spoke, he was cap in hand, and with his fluent speech, and smooth words, as it were trying to get him back to Mexico, and expressing his solicitude for his safety. Sometimes when he was riding by the side of the general he would sing, "Ay tio bolvamonos, ay tio bolvamonos." Then Cortes would laugh at him and reply singing,

"Adelante mi sobrino, adelante mi sobrino,
Y no creais in agueros, que sera lo que dios quisiere.
Adelante mi sobrino.

"Oh good uncle let us return.
Forward, dear nephew forward,
Trust in God and never heed auguries."

Quitting the subject of our factor and his delicate speeches, I have now to mention how a marriage took place on the arrival of the party at the town of Ojeda, which is near that of Orizava, between our linguist Donna Marina, and Juan Xaramillo. The next place they came to was Guazpaltepeque, in the district of Sandoval. As soon as intelligence reached Guacacualco of the advance of Cortes to Guazpaltepeque, all the Spaniards of that settlement came thirty three leagues to receive him. This I mention that the reader may see what fear and respect he was held in by us. Proceeding beyond the place last mentioned, in crossing a large river, fortune began to frown upon us, for three of our canoes overset, whereby some plate and other valuables were lost, for that river is so full of alligators that there was no recovering any thing. Passing Illuta, when we came to the river by Guacacualco we found three hundred canoes fastened two and two to carry us over; here we were received under triumphal arches, and with various festivities representing skirmishes of Christians and Moors, together with fireworks and other shows of that kind.

Here Cortes remained six days, during which time the factor was continually sounding in his ears the burthen of his old song. He also told him of secret practices of the contador and the treasurer, who boasted that he was the son of his catholic Majesty, and in short a number of stories, the drift of all which was, to induce Cortes to supercede the present deputies, and put him, and the veedor, in their places. In this he too well succeeded; for by his arts he obtained

from the general a deputation for himself and his associate the veedor, to hold the government of Mexico, in case they should judge that the present deputies failed in their duty. These intrigues caused much trouble afterwards in Mexico as I will relate at the proper time. The reverend father blamed Cortes for what he had done, and foresaw the consequences that followed. The veedor and factor now took their leaves, with such tenderness and affection, the latter pretending to sob and cry with sorrow at parting, that it was ridiculous to see it. The fellow had by the tricks of his friend Valiente the secretary, got at that time in his pocket the documents he wanted for the furtherance of his views in Mexico, of which as I before observed I will say no more for the present, but continue the narrative of our painful journey, for I left this place with the general, and attended him throughout.

Cortes now sent orders to one of his major domos, Simon de Cuenca, at Villa Rica, to freight two light vessels with biscuit of maiz, (for at that time there was no wheat in New Spain,) six pipes of wine, oil, vinegar, pork, iron, and other necessary articles, and to proceed with them along the coast, northward, until he should receive further directions. The general then ordered all the settlers of Guacacualco who were fit for service to join his expedition. I have already mentioned how this colony was formed out of the most respectable hidalgos, and ancient conquerors of the country; and now that we had reason to expect to be left in quiet possession of our hard earned properties, our houses and farms, we were obliged to undertake an hostile expedition to the distance of five hundred leagues, and which took up the time of above two years and a half. But we dared not say no, neither would it avail us. We therefore armed ourselves, and mounting our horses, joined the expedition, making in the whole above two hundred and fifty veterans, of whom one hundred and thirty were cavalry, besides many Spaniards newly arrived from Europe.

I was immediately ordered to march at the head of thirty Spaniards and three thousand Mexicans, to a district named Cimatan, which was in rebellion, with directions to quarter my troops on the natives, and if I found them submissive, to do no farther injury, but if refractory, they were to be summoned intelligibly, three times, in presence of a royal notary and proper witnesses, and in case they persisted, I was to make war on, and compel them to submit. The orders which I received from the general I now have in my possession, signed and sealed by him, and countersigned by his secretary, A. Valiente. I found the people peaceable, but in a few months after, in consequence of the settlers of Guacacualco being withdrawn, they broke out again. However they being in the state that I have mentioned, I made no delay, but set out with my detachment to rejoin Cortes at Iquinapa.

The general, with the rest of his troops, leaving Guacacualco, proceeded to Tonala, crossed a river to Ayaqualulco, crossed another river, and, seven leagues distant an arm of the sea, upon a bridge of half a quarter of a league in length; a most astonishing work in such a situation, and constructed by the natives of the country under the inspection of two captains, settlers of Guacacualco. They then proceeded to a large river named Mazapa, which flows by Chiapa, and is named by mariners Rio de dos Bocas; this they crossed in double canoes, and proceeding through some villages, came to Iquinapa, where my detachment joined them. We then crossed another river on wooden bridges, also an arm of the sea, and came to a great town named Copilco, where the province of Chontalpa begins, which was very populous, covered with plantations of cocoa, and perfectly tranquil.

From Copilco we marched to Nicaxuxuica, and to Zagutan, passing another river, in which the general lost some articles of his baggage. The last mentioned town was found by us in a state of peace, but the inhabitants fled during the night. Cortes ordered parties out to search the woods and

make prisoners, which was a very inconsiderate thing, and productive of bad consequences; we found, it is true, after much trouble, seven chiefs and some others, but they all made their escape from us again during the night, and we were thus left without guides. At this period arrived at our quarters fifty canoes from Tabasco, loaded with provisions, also some from a place named Teapan in my encomienda.

We proceeded on our march to Tepetitan and Iztapa, crossing a great river named Chilapa, at which we were detained four days making barks. I proposed to Cortes, to send five of our Indian guides to a town of the same name, which I understood to be on the banks of this river, to desire the people to assist us with their canoes. Cortes assented, and it was done; we procured six large canoes, and also provisions. We were four days in passing.

From this we went on to Tepetitan which was depopulated and burnt, in consequence of a civil war. For three days of our march from the river of Chilapa, our horses were almost constantly up to the girths in the marshy grounds which we had to pass. We then reached a place named Iztapa, the inhabitants of which had fled. We sent in search of them, and several chiefs and others were brought in, who being treated kindly, made the general a present of some trifling articles in gold. We halted here for three days on account of the plenty of corn and grass; Cortes also approved of it for the scite of a colony, it being surrounded by many towns which might be attached to it as dependencies. From the travelling merchants here, Cortes obtained information as to his future route, producing to them a map painted on cloth, whereon was represented the way which he was to take to reach Huyacala, which means great Acala; it being so called to distinguish it from another place of that name. They told him that the way he was to take was much intersected by rivers; and that in order to reach a place named Tamaztepeque, three days journey distant, three rivers and an arm of the sea were to be crossed. The general in con-

sequence gave orders to the chiefs to construct bridges at the proper places, and also to bring canoes; neither of which was obeyed.

The three days which the natives assured us the journey would take up, turned out to be no less than seven; but they succeeded in getting rid of us, and we set out, provided only with roasted maiz and roots sufficient for three days. We were obliged to construct bridges of timber, at which all laboured from the general downwards, which detained us three days, during which time we had nothing to eat but a certain wild plant named Quexquexque, which inflames the mouth and tongue. When we had crossed this inlet we found no road whatever, and we were obliged to open our way through the woods, as it were, sword in hand. After labouring thus for two days in hopes of reaching the place which we were in search of, we became totally in despair. The trees were so thick that we could not see the sun, and when we ascended to the top of one we could not discover to any distance. Of our three guides also two had fled, and the third was incapable of rendering any service. Cortes, whose resources were inexhaustible, guided himself by a mariners compass, and by his Indian map, according to which, the town we were in quest of, lay to the east. Cortes himself was however forced to acknowledge, that if we were one day more without discovering it, he did not know what we should do.

Fortunately we at this time perceived the remains of trees which had been formerly cut, and also a small lane or path, and Lopez the pilot and I returned to report our discovery to the general. Our news revived the spirits of the army, and we pushed forward to a village on the opposite side of a river, where, though the inhabitants had abandoned it, we found sufficiency of provisions for ourselves and our horses. Parties were immediately sent out in quest of the natives, and they soon returned, bringing with them many chiefs and priests, who being well treated, procured us a plentiful

supply of provisions, and pointed out our way to Izguantepeque, which was three days journey, or sixteen leagues distant from this town of Tamaztepeque. During our journey hither we lost our stage dancer by fatigue, as also three of the newly arrived Spaniards, and many of the Mexicans were left to die upon the road. It came also to be discovered that some of their chiefs had seized two or three of the natives of the places through which we passed, and concealed them with the baggage, until through hunger they had killed and eaten them, dressing the bodies in their manner, which is, by a kind of oven made with heated stones which are put under ground. On enquiry it was also found out that they had done the same with two of our guides who had fled from us, but were retaken. Cortes severely reprehended all those concerned, and one of the reverend father Franciscans preached a holy and wise sermon on the occasion, after which, by way of example, the general caused one against whom it was most clearly proved to be burnt; for though all were equally guilty, yet in the present circumstances one example was judged sufficient. As for our poor musicians with their instruments, their sackbuts, and dulcimers, they felt the loss of the regales and feasts of Castille, and now their harmony was stopt, excepting one only, whom the soldiers used to curse whenever he struck up, saying it was maiz and not music that they wanted. Some persons have asked me how it happened that since necessity has no law, we did not, rather than starve, lay our hands on the herd of pigs which Cortes brought with him. To this I reply that they were not within our sight or reach, and the general's steward, who was a sly artful fellow, said that they had all been eaten by the alligators in crossing the river. But in reality they had them four days march behind the army. On our route we made crosses in the living trees, and put inscriptions on them saying, "here passed Cortes and his army at such a time."

The Indians of Tamaztepeque sent forward to our next station, Ciguatepecad, to inform the people of our approach,

and remove their apprehensions. They also, to the number of twenty attended us thither, where, being arrived and halted, Cortes was anxious to know the course of a large river which flows by that town. Upon enquiry he found that it discharged itself in certain inlets of the sea, near the towns named Gueyatasta, and Xicalango, and thereby he thought that he could conveniently send two Spaniards to the north coast, to obtain information relative to his ships. One of his messengers was Francisco de Medina, to whom he gave a joint commission of captain with Simon de Cuenca, his officer whom he had employed to freight and command the ships. De Medina was an able and diligent man, and well acquainted with the country; it would have been better however on the present occasion if he had not been entrusted with such powers; as will appear. De Medina having gone down the river to meet the vessels, and having arrived at Xicalonga where they were at anchor, waiting to hear from Cortes, presented the general's letters to Cuenca, and also produced his own commission as captain. A dispute immediately ensued between these two officers relative to the chief command, and each being supported by a party, they had recourse to arms, and fought until there were not eight Spaniards on both sides left alive. When the neighbouring Indians perceived this they fell upon the survivors, put them to death, and destroyed the two ships, so that we did not, for two years and a half, know what was become of them.

We were informed at our present quarters, that the town of Gueyacala was distant three days march from us, and that our way was across deep rivers and trembling marches. Cortes accordingly sent two soldiers to examine them, who, sounding and trying the rivers, came back and reported that they were passable by constructing wooden bridges across them, but as to the marshes, which lay more distant, and which were the most material, they made no examination at all. Cortes also sent me and one Gonzalo de Mexia forward to Gueyacala, with some guides who offered themselves from

our present quarters. We set out accordingly, but in the night our Indians left us, for it seemed that the two nations were at war, and we were now forced to rely entirely on ourselves. When we arrived at the first town belonging to the district of Gueyacala, which is the chief over about twenty others, the inhabitants of it shewed some signs of jealousy, but we soon reconciled them. This district is much intersected by lakes, rivers, and trembling marshes. Some of the dependent towns are in islands, and all the communication is by canoes. We invited the chiefs to go and wait upon Cortes, but this they declined on account of the hostility between the two nations. It seems that on the first day of our arrival they had no idea of our force, but on the next they had received further intelligence concerning it, and treated us with more deference. They promised that they would provide every accommodation for our people on their arrival, and while we were engaged in discourse with them on these subjects, two Spaniards sent by Cortes brought me letters, wherein he ordered, that I should within three days meet him with all the provisions that I could collect, for that he had been deserted by the natives, and was on his way to Gueyacala without any necessaries whatever. The Spaniards also informed me, that four of our soldiers who had been detached by Cortes higher up the river had not returned, and were supposed to be murdered, as afterwards appeared to be the case.

Cortes pursued his march, and was for four days employed in constructing his bridge across the great river, during which time the army suffered dreadfully from hunger, having left their last quarters without any provisions whatever. Some old soldiers cut down trees resembling the palm, and procured nuts which they roasted and eat. A very poor resource for so many. On the night that the bridge was finished I arrived with one hundred and thirty loads of corn, honey, fruit, and salt, and eighty fowls. It was dark, and Cortes had made mention of his expectation of my arrival. The

consequence was, that the soldiers waited for me, and immediately laid violent hands on every atom of provisions which I had brought, not leaving any thing for Cortes or the other officers. The general's steward and major domo cried out, "this is for the general," and "do not touch that," but it was to no avail, the soldiers said that the general and the others had been eating their hogs, while the poor soldiers were famishing, and neither entreaties nor arguments could induce them to leave him so much as a single load of corn. Cortes lost all patience when he heard of it, and swore that he would make enquiry and punish those who had committed the outrage, and who had talked about the hogs. But he soon found that this was merely crying in the desert. He then blamed me, but I told him that a guard should have been appointed to receive the provisions when they were brought in, for that hunger knows no law. As he saw there was no remedy he returned to me, and, Captain De Sandoval being present, addressed me with good words saying, "my dear friend Del Castillo I am sure that you have left something behind you on the road for yourself and our friend here; do let us go together, and permit me to share it with you." Sandoval also said that he vowed to his God he had not so much as a handful of maiz. When thus applied to I could not refuse them. "Well," said I, "when the soldiers are all asleep, come with me, and take shares of what I provided for myself and those with me;" which was, twelve loads of maiz, twenty fowls, three jars of honey, fruits, and salt; I had also some women to make bread. They both thanked and embraced me, and so we escaped famine for this time. Cortes enquired how the reverend fathers had fared, but there was no cause of apprehension for them, as each soldier gave them a portion of what he had obtained. Such are the hardships attendant upon expeditions in unexplored countries! our general, feared as he was by the soldiers, had his provisions pillaged, and was in danger of starving, and Captain De Sandoval would not trust any one, but went himself to get his

ration from me. On continuing our march, when we had advanced about a league from the river, we came to those desperate trembling marshes. Here our horses were near being all smothered; but as the distance was not above half a bow shot between the firm ground on each side, we contrived to draw them through it by main force, and when we had gotten across, after returning thanks to God, Cortes sent to Gueyacala for a fresh supply of provisions, of which he took care not to be plundered as on the former occasion, and on the ensuing day the whole of our party arrived, at an early hour, in the town of Gueyacala, where the chiefs attended, and had made ample preparations for our reception.

Cortes, having done whatever was necessary to conciliate the good will of these people, enquired of them relative to his future march, and also, if they had ever received any intelligence of ships being on the coast, or of any settlement of Europeans there. They told him, that at the distance of eight days journey there were many men with beards like ourselves, who had horses, and three ships with them. They also furnished him with a map of his route, and offered their assistance during the march; but in answer to his demand that they would open the way for us, they represented to him the disobedience of some of their dependencies, and expressed their wishes to reduce them to submission by our means. This duty he gave to Diego de Mazariegos, a relation of the treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, as a compliment to him, and calling me aside, he desired that I would attend him upon the occasion as his counsellor, from my experience in the affairs of the country. This I should not now mention, nor do I as a boast, but it is my duty as an historian, and further, it was well known to the whole army, and his Majesty was informed of it in the letters written to him by Cortes. About eighty of us went with Mazariegos upon this occasion. When we arrived, we found the district in the best disposition possible; the chiefs returned with us to wait

on Cortes, and brought with them a most plentiful supply of provisions. In about four days after this, all the native chiefs deserted us, and we were left with only three guides, to pursue our route, which we did, crossing two rivers, to another town in the district of Gueyacala, which we found abandoned.

Here was the scene of the death of Guatimotzin, last native king of the Mexicans. It appeared that a plot had been entered into by this unfortunate man, together with many others of his nobility, to murder the Spaniards, and return to Mexico; and that on their arrival, they intended to make a junction of all their forces, and attack the Spanish garrison. Their treason was communicated to the general by two lords named Tapia and Juan Velasquez, who had commanded under Guatimotzin during the siege. As soon as Cortes got the knowledge of it he took the informations, not only of these two, but also of several others concerned; their confession was, that perceiving we marched without precaution, that discontent prevailed, that many of our soldiers were sick, and provisions so scarce that ten Spaniards had died of hunger absolutely, and others had returned to Mexico, considering also the uncertainty of our fate and destination they had decided, that dying at once was preferable to going with us any farther. They had therefore resolved to try their fortunes, and fall upon us at the passage of some river or marsh, their numbers being an encouragement to the attempt, as they exceeded three thousand well armed men. Guatimotzin denied that the whole of the Mexican force was concerned in this plot, or that it would have ever been, to his knowledge, carried into effect. But he admitted that it had been heard though never approved of by him. The prince of Tacuba declared that all which had ever passed between Guatimotzin and him was, frequent declarations that to lose their lives at once would be preferable to wasting in the manner they were, in a slow death, by hunger and fatigue, and seeing the distresses of their friends suffering around

them. Without any more proofs whatever, Cortes ordered Guatimotzin and his cousin the prince of Tacuba to be hanged immediately, and the preparations for the execution being made, they were brought to the place attended by the reverend fathers. Before he was executed, the king turning round to Cortes said, "Malintzin! now I find in what your false words and promises have ended;—in my death.—Better that I had fallen by my own hands than trust myself in your power in my city of Mexico.—Why do you thus unjustly take my life? May God demand of you this innocent blood!" The prince of Tacuba only said that he was happy to die by the side of his lawful sovereign. Thus ended the lives of these two great men, and I must say like good christians, and for Indians, most piously; and I heartily pitied Guatimotzin and his cousin, having seen them in such great fortune and situations. They behaved very kindly to me during our march, doing me many services, especially giving me Indians to carry grass for my horse; and I also declare that they suffered their deaths most undeservingly, and so it appeared to us all, amongst whom there was but one opinion upon the subject; that it was a most unjust and cruel sentence.

We continued our march afterwards with great caution, from apprehensions of a mutiny among the Mexicans on account of the execution of their chiefs; but the wretches were so exhausted by famine, sickness, and fatigue, that they did not appear even to think about the matter. At night we arrived at a village which was abandoned by the inhabitants, but on searching we found eight priests who readily attended us to Cortes. He desired them to call back their neighbours, and that they should receive no injury. This the priests readily promised, requesting at the same time, that their idols which were in a temple adjoining the building wherein were the quarters of Cortes, should not be touched; which the general agreed to, but took the opportunity of expostulating with them upon the absurdity of venerating what was in reality no more than clay and timber. The

priests seemed very willing to embrace the true doctrine, and brought us twenty loads of fowls and maiz. To the question put to them by Cortes, how many days journey, or suns, it was, to the place where were the men with beards on their faces and who rode horses they replied, seven; that the place was named Nito, and they offered to be our guides thither.

Cortes caused a cross to be fixed in a large ceiba tree close to their temple, which as I have before mentioned joined to the building wherein he had taken his quarters. He was at this time very ill tempered, and sad. He was vexed by the difficulties and misfortunes which had attended his march, and his conscience upbraided him with the death of the unfortunate Guatimotzin. He was so distracted by these thoughts that he could not rest in his bed at night, and getting up in the dark to walk about, as a relief from his anxieties, he went into a large apartment where some of the idols were worshipped. Here, he missed his way, and fell from the height of twelve feet, to the ground, receiving a desperate wound and contusions in his head. This circumstance he tried to conceal, keeping his sufferings to himself, and getting his hurts cured as well as he could.

Quitting this place we arrived in two days at a district the people of which are called the Mazotecas, and found a newly built town, fortified and barricaded, with very strong pallisadoes in two circles, one of which was like a barbican, with loop holes, and trenches sunk before it. The part which was not fortified in this manner was defended by a perpendicular rock, the top of which was piled with stones shaped for the sling. It had also a parapet, and there was on one side of the town an impassable marsh. On entry we found every house filled with provisions of whatever kind the country afforded, and a magazine stocked with arms of all sorts, but not a single human being. While we were expressing our astonishment at these circumstances, fifteen Indians came out of the marsh, and addressing us with great submission, informed us that they had been driven to the construction of

this fortress, as a last resource in an unsuccessful war, in which they had been engaged with some of their neighbours, whom, as well as I recollect, they called the Lazandones. It seemed to be a warfare of plunder on each side. The name of this district means in their language a country abounding with game, which it was very well intitled to be called. Two of the Indians attended us from this place, and communicated to Cortes what they knew of the settlement of the Spaniards.

We now travelled through a country entirely open, consisting of vast plains without a tree. The heat of the sun was excessive, and the deer which fed over this extensive range of champaign were innumerable, and so tame as almost to come to our hands. The horsemen took them after the shortest pursuit, and we had in a very little space of time above twenty killed. Asking our guides the reason of these animals not being alarmed at the approach of men, we found that it was owing to a superstition of the people, who considered them to be divinities, as they said that their gods appeared to them in their forms; and also that their idols had commanded that they should be neither killed nor frightened. The heat of the weather was now so great, that a relation of the general's, named Palacios Rubios, lost his horse by pursuing the game. Pursuing our journey by villages where war had left its destructive marks, we met some Indians on their return from hunting. They had with them a huge lion which they had just killed, and some iguanas, a species of small serpent, very good to eat. They led us to their town, being obliged to wade up to our middles in a lake of fresh water with which it was surrounded. In this town was a large pond of fresh water, which was quite full of fishes, resembling what we call in Europe the shad fish, but enormously large, with prickles on their backs. We procured some nets, and took above a thousand, which afforded us a plentiful meal. We also procured here five Indians, who on our enquiry by description for our countrymen,

readily undertook to guide us to their settlement, for they at first thought that we came to put them to death, and were happy to find that they were likely to be rid of us on such easy terms.

We proceeded towards a place named Tayasal, situated on an island, the white temples, turrets, and houses of which, glistened from a distance. It was the chief town of a district. As the road grew very narrow we thought it best to halt for the night, four companies of soldiers being detached to the shore, to search for a passage. Luckily they took two canoes, in which were ten men and two women who were conveying salt and maize. Being brought to Cortes and questioned, they said, that they belonged to the town before us, which was distant about four leagues. Cortes detained one canoe and some of the people, particularly the women, and sent the others with two Spaniards to the chief, to demand from him canoes to cross the water. Our whole party then set out towards the river, and arriving there, we found the cacique waiting for us. He invited the general to his town, and Cortes embarked with thirty crossbow-men, and arriving there, was presented with some trifles of gold much alloyed, and a few mantles. They here informed him that they knew of Spaniards being at two different places, one of which it seems was Nito, the other San Gil de Buena Vista. He also learned that many more were at Naco, which is up the country, and distant ten days journey from Nito, which last mentioned place lies on the northern coast. The general on hearing this observed to us, that probably De Oli had divided his force, for as yet we knew nothing of Gil Gonzalez de Avila.

Our whole body having crossed the river, we halted at the distance of two leagues from it, to wait the return of Cortes. Here a Negro, two Indians, and three Spanish soldiers deserted; the latter preferring the taking their chance among enemies, to the repetition of the fatigues they had gone through. This day I was sun struck and fell ill of a calen-

ture. The weather also at this time changed, and for three days and nights it never ceased raining; but we were obliged to continue our journey under it, from the apprehension that our provisions should fall short. After two days march we came to a ridge of rocks, the stones whereof cut like knives; we sent soldiers a league's distance on each side to search for some other road, but to no effect. Our horses fell here at every step, and cut themselves to pieces, and the farther we proceeded on the descent, the worse it was. We left eight horses dead upon the spot, and most of the rest were so wounded as not to be able to keep up with us. Amongst others who received hurts the general's relation Palacios Rubios broke his leg by a fall. We called this place La Sierra de los Pedernales. When we had gotten over it we did not fail to return thanks to God for his mercy in extricating us from that difficulty. We then advanced chearfully towards a town named Taica, which lay before us, and where we hoped to find a sufficiency of every thing; but we were suddenly and unexpectedly stopped by an enormous torrent, which, being swelled by the heavy rains, came tumbling between great precipices with a noise which could be heard at the distance of two leagues. Here we were obliged to halt for three complete days, in order to make a bridge from one precipice to the other, and when at the end of the third day we began to pass over, we found that the people on the other side had taken advantage of our delay, to remove themselves and all their provisions out of our reach.

When we learned that after all our fatigues hunger was to be our portion, we seemed as it were thunder struck. I own I never in my life felt my heart so depressed as when I found nothing to be had for myself or my people; and this too on the eve of our Lord's resurrection! a pretty festival we had of it truly! Cortes, after sending out his servants every where, procured about a bushel of maiz. When he saw the distress which we were in, he called together the colonists of Guacacualco, as the flower of his army, and earnestly

solicited us to do our utmost to procure some necessaries. Pedro de Ircio who was present asked to be appointed to the command, to which Cortes assented; but I, who knew that De Ircio was more of a talking, than a marching soldier, and that he would lag by the way and retard us, whispered Cortes and Sandoval to prevent his going, for he being duck legged, could not get through the deep ground and mire like us, and would be obliged to sit down. Cortes therefore ordered him to stay, and five of us setting out together, with two guides, and crossing rivers and marshes, came to some Indian houses where we found provisions in plenty. Here we also took some prisoners, and with their fruit, fowls, and corn, we celebrated the feast of the resurrection heartily. On the same night arrived a thousand Mexicans, whom Cortes had ordered to follow us. We joyfully loaded them with all the corn that we could procure, and twenty fowls for Cortes and Sandoval, and there still remained some corn in the town which we staid to guard. On the next day we advanced to other villages, where we found such a plenty of corn that we wrote a billet to Cortes, with ink which we made, and on a piece of a drum head, desiring him to send all the Indians that he could, to carry it to our people.

Thirty soldiers and about five hundred Indians in a short time arrived, and thus, thanks to God, we were amply provided for the remainder of the five days, during which we staid at Taica. I must observe, that the bridges which we constructed on this march, remained perfectly good for many years, and that the Spaniards, when they passed them used to say, "these are the bridges of Cortes," as formerly it used to be said, "here are the pillars of Hercules." We continued our march for two days, to a place named Tania, through a country intersected with rivers and rivulets, and where all the towns were abandoned; and during the night, our guides, being intrusted to the care of some of the newly arrived Spaniards who I suppose slept upon their posts, made their escape. Thus we were left in a difficult country, and

not knowing which way to turn. In addition to this, it rained most heavily. Cortes was out of humour and said, Pedro de Ircio and many more being by, that he wished others besides the settlers of Guacacualco would bestir themselves, and do some good, in searching for guides. De Ircio, Marmolejo a person of quality, and Burgales afterwards regidor of Mexico, each offered their services, and taking six soldiers a piece, were out three days in search of Indians, and all returned without any success, having met with nothing but rivers, and waters, and obstructions. Cortes was in despair at this, and desired Sandoval to apply to me, asking as a favour that I would take the business on me. When addressed in this manner I could not refuse, though very ill; and taking with me two friends, men capable of enduring hunger and thirst, we set out together, and following a stream, the marks of boughs being cut from the trees pointed out a way to some houses, from whence we saw corn fields and houses with people about them. We remained concealed until we supposed the people to be asleep, and then, taking the inhabitants by surprise, made prisoners three men, two Indian girls who were very handsome, and an old woman. They had a few fowls and a little corn. The whole of our capture we brought to our quarters. Sandoval was overjoyed at our arrival; "now," said he to Pedro de Ircio, in the presence of Cortes, "was Del Castillo right when he insisted on having none but active men with him, and not to take people who hobble along, telling their old stories of the adventures that happened to the count De Urena, and his son Don Pedro Giron." These stories De Ircio used to pester us with, over and over again, for which reason all who were present laughed heartily at what was said by Sandoval who knew that De Ircio and I were not friends. Cortes returned me thanks, and paid me many compliments upon my conduct, but I will drop this subject, for what is praise but emptiness and unprofitableness, and what advantage is it to me that people in Mexico should tell what we endured, or

that Cortes should say when he wanted to persuade me to go on this last expedition, that next to God it was me on whom he placed his reliance to procure guides.

From the prisoners whom we had taken we learned, that it was necessary to descend the river for two days journey, to a place of above two hundred houses named Oculiztli; which we accordingly did, passing on our road some large buildings where the travelling merchants of the Indians are used to stop. At the close of the second day we arrived at the place to which we had been directed, where we found plenty of provisions. We also found in one of the temples an old red cap, and a sandal, as offerings to their idols. Some of our soldiers brought to Cortes two old men and four women, whom they took in the maiz fields; Cortes asked them what distance the Spanish settlement was from this place; to which they replied that it was two days journey, being close by the sea side, and that no town intervened. Upon this Cortes ordered Sandoval immediately to set out on foot, with six soldiers, and get down to the coast, in order to ascertain what number of men De Oli had with him, for as yet we were entirely ignorant of all that had happened there, and Cortes required this information in order to effect what he had determined, which was, to fall upon, and surprise De Oli and his troops during the night.

Sandoval taking three guides reached the sea side, and going northwards, soon perceived a canoe, and concealing himself where he expected it to anchor for the night, he was fortunate enough to get possession of it, and upon examination, found it to belong to Indian merchants who were bringing salt to Golfo Dolce. Sandoval embarked on board this canoe with a part of his soldiers, and sending the rest by land, he pursued his route for the great river. As fortune would have it, on his voyage he fell in with a canoe in which had come four Spanish settlers, who were searching for fruit near the mouth of the river, being in great distress from the hostilities of the Indians, and the ravages made by disease.

Two of these being up in a tree, were astonished at the sight of Sandoval and the rest, and reported to their companions what they had seen. When they met, Sandoval was informed by them of their present distress, and how they had hanged the officer left there by Avila. Upon this he determined to bring them to Cortes, which having declared, a soldier named Alonzo Ortiz obtained from him permission to set off with the news, in order to get a reward. He accordingly in a short time reached us, and by his intelligence rejoiced us all. Cortes presented him with an excellent horse named Moor's-head, and each of us gave him something proportionate to our abilities. Sandoval arrived a short time after, and informed us that they were preparing to embark for the Island of Cuba, and how they had hanged their commanding officer, for opposing them and also because he had hanged a turbulent priest: as also that they had elected one Anthonio Niote in his place.

Cortes issued an order to march immediately for the sea coast, which was distant six leagues, and we had an inlet of the sea to pass. We were therefore obliged to wait till low water, and then cross it, wading and swimming. Cortes pushed forwards with his attendants, and crossed the river in the two canoes, swimming the horses by the side of them; but he found it so dangerous from the violence of the current, that he sent word to us not to attempt to follow him until farther orders.

The place where Avila's settlers now were, was about two leagues distant from where Cortes landed. They were greatly surprised at the appearance of Europeans, and more so when they found that it was the general so renowned through all these countries. Cortes received their congratulations in the most gracious manner, and desired them to bring together what canoes they could collect, as also the boats belonging to their ships, and to provide bread for the use of his people. Of this last article only fifty pounds could be procured, for they lived almost entirely on sapotes, vege-

tables, and what fish they caught. We were four days passing the river, with the greatest danger. One soldier with his horse went to the bottom, and never appeared afterwards. Two other horses were also lost; one of them belonged to a soldier named Casquete, who heartily cursed Cortes and his expedition, for the ill fortune he had brought upon him.

The general trusted the care of the embarkation to Sandoval. One Saavedra, presuming upon his relationship with Cortes, would not pay respect to the captain's orders, and endeavouring to force his passage, laid his hand to his poniard with disrespectful expressions to Sandoval. The latter made few words, but seizing him instantly, threw him into the water; where he was nearly drowned. Our suffering at this time from hunger was beyond my expression. For these four days we had literally nothing but the few nuts that we could gather, and some wild fruits; and when we arrived on the other side our condition was not bettered.

We found this colony to consist of forty men and six women, all yellow and sickly, and without any thing to eat. Of course we were anxious for the moment of setting out in order to search the country for provisions. About eighty of us went on foot, under the command of Captain Luis Marin, to a town at the distance of eight leagues, where we found provisions of all kinds, cocoa in the greatest quantity, and plenty of corn, and vegetables. This place was exactly on the route of Naco, whither it was the intention of Cortes to go. On receiving our intelligence, he dispatched Sandoval with the principal part of his troops to join us. We sent a plentiful supply of maiz to our wretched colonists, who having been so long starving, eat to such an excess that seven of them died immediately. At this time also a vessel arrived there, with seven horses, forty hogs, eight pipes of salted meat, biscuit, and fifteen passengers, adventurers from the Island of Cuba. All the provisions Cortes bought immediately, and distributed them amongst the colonists, with an equally fatal result. They eat of the salted meat to such

an excess that it gave them diarrheas, which in a very few days carried off fourteen.

Cortes now determined to examine this great river, for which purpose he fitted out one of the brigantines of Avila which had been stranded, and with this vessel, a boat, and four double canoes, in which he embarked thirty soldiers, with eight sailors of the vessel which lately arrived, he proceeded up the river to a spacious lake with good anchorage, which extended to the distance of six leagues, and the whole of the adjacent country was liable to be inundated. Proceeding higher he found the current more strong, and at length came to some shallows which his vessels could not pass; he accordingly disembarked, and proceeding by a narrow road, passed through different villages. In the first he took some natives to serve as guides, and in the second he found plenty of corn, and fowls, amongst which were pheasants, pidgeons, and partridges. These last I have frequently observed domesticated among the Indians. Pursuing his route, he came near a large town named Cinacan Tencintle, situated amongst fine cocoa plantations, and in which he heard the sound of music, the Indians being engaged in a drunken festival. Cortes waited until a fit opportunity, concealed in a wood, and then suddenly rushing out, made ten men and fifteen women prisoners. The rest attacked him with arrows and darts, but our people closed with them and cut to pieces eight of their chiefs. When the natives found that the affair was going against them they thought it high time to submit; and accordingly four old men, two of whom were priests, came, apparently very much tamed, to petition Cortes for the prisoners, and brought with them a few trifles of gold. Cortes promised to deliver his prisoners on receiving a good supply of provisions which they assured him of, and he pointed out to them where the ships lay. It appears that a misunderstanding afterwards happened between Cortes and the natives, relative to the delivery of his captives, he wishing to retain three women to

make bread. They in consequence proceeded to hostilities again; Cortes received a wound in the face, twelve also of his soldiers were wounded, and a boat destroyed. He then returned after an absence of twenty six days, suffering dreadfully by the mosquitos. He wrote to Sandoval giving him an account of all that had occurred at Cinacan, which is distant from Guatimala seventy leagues, and ordered him to proceed to Naco; Cortes himself intending to establish a settlement at the place which was named Puerto de Cavallos, for which purpose he desired ten of the veterans of Guacacualco without whose assistance nothing was conducted properly.

Cortes taking with him all the Spaniards that remained at St. Gil de Buena Vista, embarked in two ships, and after eight days sail arrived at Puerto de Cavallos, in order to plant a colony there, the situation being answerable, and the harbour good. He appointed Diego de Godoy commandant of this settlement, which he named Natividad. He thought that by this time Sandoval had arrived at Naco which was not far distant, and wrote to him there, desiring ten of the soldiers of Guacacualco to reinforce him, as he intended to proceed to the bay of Honduras. This letter reached us in the quarters which I last mentioned, for we had not arrived at Naco. I will say no more of the proceedings of Cortes, nor how the flies bit him day and night, and prevented his rest, so that as we afterwards heard he had like to have died or lost his senses, from want of sleep.

Sandoval on receiving the general's letter pressed forwards towards Naco, but was obliged to halt at a place called Cuyocan, in order to bring up his stragglers who had quitted him in search of provisions. We had also a river to pass, and the natives all round were hostile. As our line of march was so very long by the number of invalids who came straggling after us, especially of the Mexicans, it became necessary to establish a post at the ferry on this river, for which purpose Sandoval left me with the command of eight men.

One night a body of the natives fell upon us, but we were prepared for them. They set fire to the house in which we were, and thought to have brought off our canoe; but we, with the assistance of a few Mexicans, beat them off for that time, and knowing that there were some invalids lodged upon the road behind us, we on the next day brought them over and all together set out to join Sandoval. One man died upon the road; he was a Genoese, had been some time ill, and at length sunk under poverty of diet. I was obliged to leave the body behind, for which Sandoval blamed me when I made my report. I told him we had two invalids on each horse, and my companion Bartholome de Villa Nueva haughtily said, that it was difficult enough for us to bring ourselves, without carrying dead men. Sandoval immediately ordered me and Villanueva to return and bury him, which we accordingly did, and placed a cross over the grave. We found in his pocket a purse containing a quantity of dice, and a memorandum of his family and effects in Teneriffe. Rest his soul! Amen.

In about two days we arrived at Naco, having passed a place where mines have been since discovered, and also a town named Quinistan. On arriving at Naco we found it to be a good town, but it was abandoned by its inhabitants; however we obtained plenty of provisions and salt which we much wanted. We took our quarters in some very large quadrangles, the same place where De Oli had been executed, and fixed ourselves as if we had been to remain here for ever. In this place is the finest water that we had met with in New Spain, as also a tree, which at the time of the siesta, let the heat of the sun be as great as it will, has a delightful refreshing coolness in its shade, and there seems to descend from it a kind of dew, of the most delicate nature, which is good for the head. The place is well situated, the neighbourhood fertile and producing both the red and the small sapote, and it was at that time populous.

Sandoval having obtained possession of three of the prin-

cipal natives of the district, treated them kindly, and we continued in peaceable terms with them, but the inhabitants could not be induced to return to the town. It was now time to send the reinforcement Cortes had required, of ten Spanish settlers of Guacacualco. I was an invalid and unable to go, and Sandoval wished to keep me with him; eight valiant soldiers were however sent, who set out heartily cursing Cortes and his expedition at every step. They had some reason, for they did not know the least of the state of the country through which they were to go. Sandoval took the precaution of sending five principal persons of the natives with them, and gave it to be understood that if any injury was done to them the country should be severely punished. They arrived at the place where Cortes was, in safety, and he immediately embarked for Truxillo, leaving Godoy in the command at Puerto de Cavallos, with forty Spaniards, which was all that remained of the settlers who came with Avila, and those newly arrived from the Island of Cuba.

For some time Godoy maintained himself in the neighbouring country, but as his men were continually dropping off by disease, the Indians began to despise and neglect them, and in a short time they lost by sickness and famine above half their number, and three of them deserted and joined Sandoval. Such was the result of the colonization of Puerto de Cavallos. Sandoval, by different expeditions to the neighbouring districts, named Cirimongo, Acalaco, Quizmitan, and four others, and by judicious measures, brought the whole of the country to peace and subjection, all around Naco, and as far as Godoy's settlement.

After six days sail Cortes arrived at the port of Truxillo. This place had been colonized by Francisco de las Casas, but there were also amongst them many of the mutineers who had served under De Oli, and who had been banished from Panuco. All these, conscious of their guilt, waited on Cortes upon his arrival, to supplicate his pardon for their offences. This Cortes granted them; he also continued those who had

been appointed to offices, and put at the head of all those provinces as captain general, his relation Saavedra. Cortes having now summoned the chiefs and priests of the Indians, made an harangue to them, wherein he told them of the object of his coming thither, which was, to induce them to quit the unnatural and cruel practices of their false religion, and to embrace the true one. He also dwelt upon the power and dignity of his Majesty the Emperor Don Carlos, to whom he required their submission. This together with the holy exhortations of our reverend fathers being explained to these people they readily promised to obey him, in becoming his Majesty's vassals; whereupon Cortes signified to them, that they should provide the settlement with all articles of food, especially fish, of which there was a great plenty in the sea about the Islands of Los Guanajes, and also he desired them to send labourers to clear the woods in front of the town, and open the view to the sea. All this being readily undertaken by them, Cortes ordered a number of sows in young to be turned out on these islands, to stock them, which they did in the course of a few years. The reverend fathers Franciscans also preached to the Indians many holy things very edifying to hear. The natives applied themselves to labour so earnestly, that in two days they cleared the woods towards the sea, and built fifteen houses one of which was for Cortes, and a very good habitation. The renown of our general made him feared through all these districts, as far as Olancho where are the rich mines; the Indians called him the captain Hue-hue of Marina, that is the old captain who brings Donna Marina, and his presence reduced the whole country to submission, two or three districts in the mountains only holding out. Against these, the names of which were given to him by the chief of Papayeca, then a populous district but now almost uninhabited, he sent Captain Saavedra with a party of soldiers who brought most of them under subjection, the only one that held out being that people named the Acaltecans.

As many of the suite of Cortes began now to fall sick from the effects of the climate, he sent them on board a vessel to St. Domingo or Cuba, and by this opportunity he also sent letters to the reverend fathers of the order of St. Jerome, and the court of royal audience, informing them of all the events that had happened; of his resigning the government of Mexico into the hands of deputies, to proceed against De Oli in person, and also of his future intentions. He requested from them a reinforcement of soldiers, and, to attach credit to his report, he sent a valuable present of gold, taken in reality from his side board, but in such a manner that it should appear to them the produce of this settlement. This business he entrusted to a relation named Avalos, with orders, on his way, to take up twenty five soldiers, who, he had received intelligence, were left in the Island of Cozumel, to kidnap Indians. This vessel was wrecked about seventy leagues from the Havannah; the Captain, Avalos, and many passengers perished, and those few who escaped, amongst whom was the licentiate Pedro Lopez, were the first who brought to the islands intelligence of the existence of Cortes and his army, for it had been hitherto universally believed that we had all perished. As soon as it was known where Cortes then was, two old ships were freighted with horses and colts, and sent out to us. Except these, and one pipe of wine, all the rest of the cargo consisted of shirts, caps, and useless trumpery of various kinds.

Some Indians of the islands called the Guanajes, which are about the distance of eight leagues from Truxillo, came at this time to complain to Cortes, that it had been a practice of the Spaniards to come to their islands, and kidnap the natives and their maceguales, or slaves, and that a vessel was now there, as supposed for that purpose. Cortes on hearing this ordered out one of his ships, which came in view of the vessel, but she immediately hoisted sail, and made her escape. It afterwards appeared that the commander of her was the bachelor Moreno, who had been sent on business to Nombre

de Dios, by the royal court of audience of St. Domingo.

Whilst Sandoval remained at Naco, the chiefs of two districts in that vicinity named Quecuspan, and Tanchinalchapa, came to him to complain of a party of Spaniards who maltreated their people, robbing them, and putting them in chains, and who were now at the distance of about one day's march from his post. He accordingly set out against them with seventy men, and arrived at the place where these people were, perfectly at their ease, and not expecting any attack. They were surprised at seeing us, and ran to their arms; but we soon seized the captain and several more, thus getting the better of them without any blood being drawn on either side. Sandoval censured them in very strong terms for their misconduct, and ordered those Indians whom they had made prisoners to be immediately released. The captain of this party was one Pedro de Garro; he and his men were marched prisoners to our settlement. From the manner in which they were mounted and attended, they seemed to be lords, in comparison of us who were dirty and worn down with service. Several of them were persons of quality or gentlemen, and after they had reposed a day amongst us they grew perfectly contented.

The reason of their being in these countries is as follows. Pedro Arias de Avila, who had the government of Tierra Firma, sent a captain named Francisco Hernandez to make conquests in the province of Nicaragua and Leon. This he did, reducing the natives to obedience, and establishing a colony there. When Hernandez found himself advantageously settled, he determined to throw off his dependency upon Pedro Arias, to which I believe he was incited by the bachelor Moreno, and the reason of it to the best of my judgment was this. Arias had beheaded V. N. de Balboa, who married his daughter Donna Isabella Arias de Penosa. This atrocious stretch of power he committed most unwarrantably, and it was on this occasion that the bachelor Moreno had been sent hither by the royal court of audience. The

bachelor meeting with Hernandez, advised him to renounce his connexion with Pedro Arias, who had conducted himself so badly, and to establish a distinct government in that province, immediately under his Majesty; and Hernandez taking his counsel, sent this party to make their way to the north coast, thereby to open a communication with the mother country.

All this being explained to Sandoval, was by him communicated to Cortes, in expectation of his supporting the views of Hernandez, by Captain Luis Marin, whom I attended upon this occasion. Our whole party consisted of ten soldiers, and a most desperate journey it was, the Indians were hostile and attacked us with large heavy lances, wounding two of our soldiers. The rivers which we crossed were swollen and rapid, and so frequent, that in one day we passed three of them; one river named Xagua, ten leagues from Triumpho de la Cruz, detained us for two days, and the inlets and lagoons were infested by alligators. By the side of the river Xagua we found the skeletons of seven horses; they had belonged to De Oli's troops, and died from eating poisonous herbs. Passing El Triumpho de la Cruz, and a place named Quemara, at length we arrived in the neighbourhood of Truxillo about the hour of vespers, and saw five cavaliers riding along the coast. These were, Cortes and four of his friends, who were taking exercise. When he recognised us, after the first surprise at the unexpected meeting, he dismounted from his horse, and running up, embraced us all with tears in his eyes, so overjoyed was he to see us. It made me melancholy to find him so weak and reduced. Distress and disease had worn him down; indeed he expected death, and had gotten a Franciscan habit made to be buried in. He had not at this time received any intelligence from Mexico since he quitted that city. He walked into the town with us, and we supped with him, wretchedly enough. I had not my fill even of bread or biscuit. When he had read over the letters relative to the business of Her-

nandez, he promised that he would do all he could to support him. The vessels from St. Domingo had arrived here three days before us. I have already mentioned, that except the horses and one pipe of wine, their cargoes were nothing but frippery; it would have been much better that they had not come, since it induced us all to run ourselves in debt buying their useless trash.

While we were relating to Cortes the hardships we had sustained during our late journey, a ship was descried at a distance, making for our port. This vessel sailed from the Havannah, with letters for the general from the licentiate Zuazo, alcalde major of Mexico. The hidalgo who was captain of the vessel came directly to kiss the hands of Cortes, and presented his letters, the substance of which the reader shall be informed of. As soon as Cortes read them he was overwhelmed with sorrow and distress. He retired to his private apartment, where we could hear that he was suffering under the greatest agitation. He did not stir out for an entire day; at night he confessed and ordered a mass for the ensuing morning, after which he called us together, and read to us the intelligence he had received, and whereby we learned, that it had been universally reported and believed in New Spain that we were all dead, and our properties had in consequence been sold by public auction. From his father in Castille he was informed, of the death of the Bishop of Burgos, that Albornoz had been laboriously undermining us at court, and also of what I have before related, in regard to his Majesty's orders to the admiral, and the interference of the duke of Bejar; also that Narvaez had been appointed to the government of the river Palmas, and that the government of Panuco had been given to one Nuno de Guzman.

In regard to the affairs of New Spain these letters further added, that in consequence of the powers which Cortes had given to the factor Gonzalo de Salazar, and the veedor Pedro Almindes Chirinos, to supercede the deputies he had

left in Mexico, viz. the treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and the contador Albornoz, and to take the administration upon themselves in case of misconduct on the part of the deputies, these two officers having on their return to Mexico formed a strong party, amongst whom was the licentiate Zuazo alcalde major, Rodrigo de Paz alguazil major, A. de Tapia, Jorge de Alvarado, and the rest of the ancient conquerors, attempted to take the government into their hands by main force, and the consequence of the struggle of the two parties was, much disturbance, and bloodshed. The factor and veedor however carried their point, and had made prisoners the two former deputies and many of their friends. Still however there was fighting every day, the predominating party confiscating the property of their opponents, to distribute it among their own adherents. They had, we learned, completely superceded Zuazo in his office, and had imprisoned Rodrigo de Paz the alguazil major, but that the licentiate Zuazo had effected a temporary reconciliation between the parties. During these disturbances, three districts, viz. the Zapotecans, Minxes, and those in the vicinity of a fortified rock named Coatlan had rebelled, and a force going against them under the veedor Chirinos, instead of attending to their business, the troops thought of nothing but card playing, in consequence of which the natives surprised them in their camp, and did them much mischief. The factor had then sent a veteran captain named Andrez de Monjaraz, to assist the veedor, and advise him; but this officer was unable to exert himself properly, being an invalid. As to the city of Mexico, there was danger every hour of an insurrection.

The letters also informed us that the factor constantly remitted gold to his Majesty's treasurer, Don Francisco de los Cobos, to make an interest for himself at court, reporting that we were all dead at Xicalonga, the belief of which was corroborated by Diego de Ordas who, to get out of the factions and troubles of Mexico had sailed with two vessels to

search for us, and arriving at the place called Xicalonga, where the captains Simon de Cuenca and Francisco de Medina had been killed, hearing the account of their misfortunes, and not knowing the particulars, had taken it for granted that it could be no others than Cortes and his party who were thus destroyed, and reported so in his letters to Mexico which he sent by certain passengers, and then, without landing, hoisted sail for Cuba. The factor shewed his letter to our relations, and put on mourning; and a monument was erected, and funeral service performed for the honour of Cortes, in the great church of Mexico. The factor then proclaimed himself governor, and captain general of New Spain, with the sound of kettle drums and trumpets, and issued out an order, that all women who had any regard for their souls, and whose husbands had gone with Cortes, should consider them dead in law, and marry again forthwith. And because a woman named Juana de Mansilla did not chuse to take his advice, but insisted on waiting the return of her husband Alonzo Valiente, saying that we were not people who would let ourselves be so easily beaten as the veedor Chirinos and his party, the factor ordered her to be publicly whipped through the streets of Mexico for a witch.

As there are in all places flattering traitors, one of this description, whom we once expected better from, and whose name I will not mention, solemnly assured the factor, before many witnesses, that going one night by the church of St. Jago, which is built on the scite of the great temple of the Mexicans, and looking into the church yard, he saw the souls of Cortes, Donna Marina, and Sandoval, burning in flames of fire; and that he had been so terrified thereat, as to have remained ill ever since. Another man of good reputation also came to the factor, and told him that the quadrangles of Tescuco were haunted by evil spirits, which the natives said were the souls of Donna Marina and Cortes. All those falsehoods they invented to ingratiate themselves with the factor.

At this time arrived in Mexico the captains Francisco de las Casas, and Gil Gonzales de Avila, the same who beheaded Christoval de Oli. Las Casas on his arrival publicly asserted the existence of Cortes, and reprobated the conduct of the factor, but declared that should it be the case, as then believed, that we were all dead, Alvarado was the only proper man to put in the place of Cortes, until his Majesty's further pleasure should be known. Alvarado being written to on the subject set out for Mexico, but growing apprehensive of some attempt upon his life, he thought it most prudent to return to his district. The factor had at this time collected what gold he could lay his hands upon, to support his negotiations at court. In this he was opposed by almost every other officer of the government of New Spain, who determined among themselves, not to permit him exclusively to make representations of the transactions there, but to send likewise their own statements at the same time, and by the same opportunity with his. When the factor found that he could not bring over Las Casas, Gonzalez de Avila, and the licentiate, to support his views, he caused the two former to be arrested and prosecuted for the alleged murder of De Oli; and by his wickedness, and the preponderance of his power, procuring their condemnation, it was with the greatest difficulty that their immediate execution could be prevented, by appealing to his Majesty. He was obliged however to content himself with sending them prisoners to Castille. He then fell upon the licentiate Zuazo, and sent him off to Vera Cruz, and there embarked him for the Island of Cuba, as was alleged, to answer for his conduct while he was judge there. He next seized Rodrigo de Paz, and demanded of him an account and surrender of the treasure of Cortes, whose major domo he had been, and because he could not, or would not declare, or make discovery concerning it, he caused his feet and part of his legs to be burnt; and not content with giving him the torture, and knowing also that if left alive he might complain to his

Majesty, he ordered him to be hanged, which was accordingly done. He also arrested most of the friends of Cortes. Tapia and Jorge de Alvarado, however, took sanctuary with the Franciscan fathers; but several of them went over to him, partly because he gave them Indians, and partly because it is natural to wish to be with the strongest power, or, as the saying is, to cry, "success to the conquerors." He emptied the arsenal of arms, and brought them to his palace, in the front of which he also planted all the artillery, which was commanded by Captain Don Luis de Guzman, son in law to the Duke of Medina Sidonia. He next formed a body guard for his own protection, composed in part of the soldiers of Cortes, to the command of which he appointed one Artiaga.

Zuazo also wrote to Cortes to inform him, that he had reported many scandals of him to his Majesty, such as defrauding him of the duty upon gold; and as an instance to what extent he carried his tyranny, he mentioned a circumstance of a travelling Spaniard having informed a woman, and given her proofs, that her husband who was gone with Cortes was alive. This coming to the ears of the factor, he caused him to be seized by four alguazils, and would have hanged him, but that he, to excuse himself, declared that what he had said was all a falsehood, and that he had only invented it to comfort the poor woman, seeing her weeping for the loss of her husband. The business which brought this man to Mexico was, to obtain a plantation, this was immediately settled to his satisfaction, and he was dismissed with a hint to hold his tongue, as he valued his life. This letter also informed Cortes of the death of the reverend father Bartholome, a holy man, and much regretted by all the natives of Mexico, who in token of their respect fasted from the time of his death, until he was buried. Zuazo concluded by saying, that he feared Mexico was lost, and that he had been sent a prisoner in irons to the place from whence he dated his letter.

This intelligence made us all very sad. It was difficult to say which of the two, Cortes or the factor, we cursed most heartily in our own minds. We secretly gave them ten thousand maledictions, and our hearts sunk within us. Cortes retired to his chamber, and did not appear to us till evening, when we entreated him immediately to hasten to Mexico. He replied to us kindly and gently, saying, "dear friends and companions, this villain of a factor is powerful. If I go and you accompany me he may lay hands upon us by the road, and murder us all. It were better that I went privately with three or four of you, and came to Mexico before he was prepared. Let the rest rejoin Sandoval, and proceed with him to Mexico." Cortes now wrote to Captain Hernandez, promising him every support; he sent him also two mules loaded with presents of such things as he knew he wanted, entrusting them to the care of a gentleman named Cabrera, a brave officer who was on the staff under Blasco Nunez Velo, and was killed in the same battle with the Viceroy. When I saw that Cortes was determined to go to Mexico, I requested of him that he would permit me, who had been in all difficulties and dangers by his side, to attend him upon this occasion. He embraced me and said, "I request you my son to remain with Sandoval. I promise you, and I swear by this beard, that I consider myself much beholden to you, and have long done so." However he would not permit me to attend him.

I remember when we were in the town of Truxillo, a gentleman named Roderigo Manueca, a principal officer in the general's household, to divert Cortes, seeing him distressed, as he was with good reason, laid a wager with some other cavaliers, that he would climb in his armour to the top of the rock, whereon stood the house which the Indians had built for the head quarters. When he had got a considerable way up he missed his hold, and falling to the ground, was killed. Some of the settlers of this place now began to grow mutinous, on finding that Cortes had omitted to name them to any office. He however found the means to pacify

them, by promises not to forget them on his arrival at Mexico. Previous to his departure, he ordered Captain Diego de Godoy with his settlers to quit the colony of Puerto de Cavallos, where it was impossible for them to keep their ground, on account of fleas, musquitos, and other vermin, and to relieve us at the good settlement of Naco. He also ordered us to take the province of Nicaragua in our way to Mexico, as the government of it was an object worth applying for. Accordingly we took our leave of Cortes who was embarked, and set out chearfully upon our journey as Mexico was to be the end of it. It was as usual attended with extreme distress. However we reached Naco, and found that Captain De Garro had before our arrival gone for Nicaragua, to acquaint his chief, Hernandez, of the promise which Cortes had made, and we set out on the ensuing day for Mexico.

Two confidential friends of the governor Arias de Avila, having gotten the knowledge that a private correspondence was going on between Hernandez and Cortes, began to suspect the view of the former to surrender his province, and detach himself from Avila. These soldiers were named Garruito and Zamorrano. The former was urged on particularly by an old enmity to Cortes, on account of a rivalship about a lady in St. Domingo when they were both youths, and which had ended in a duel. These persons informed Avila of the whole that they knew, and he, immediately on receipt of the intelligence, hastened off to seize the parties concerned. Garro, alarmed in time, made his escape to us; but Hernandez, relying upon their former intimacy and friendship, thought that Avila would not proceed to extremities, and did not attempt to avoid him. He was however sadly undeceived, for after a very summary process he was executed as a traitor to his superior officer, in the town which he was colonizing, and thus ended the negotiation between him and Cortes.

The first time that Cortes sailed from Truxillo for Vera

Cruz, he was obliged to put back by contrary winds, the second time from an accident which happened to the vessel. He was dispirited by sickness, the voyage also added to his mental depression, and he was apprehensive of the power of the factor. On his return he ordered a solemn mass, and prayed fervently to the holy Ghost to enlighten him as to his future proceedings. It appears that he became inspired with an inclination to stay and colonize the country where he then was; for he sent three expresses as hard as they could post to recall us, and bring us back to Truxillo. In his letters he expressed his determination, which he attributed to the inspiration of his guardian angel. When we received this message we bestowed a thousand maledictions on Cortes and the ill fortune which attended him, and told Sandoval, that if he chose to remain it must be by himself, for that we were determined to proceed to Mexico. Sandoval was also of our opinion; we therefore returned an answer to this effect, signed by us all, and in a few days received another letter from him, which contained great offers to such as should be induced to remain, and concluded by saying, that if we refused, there still remained soldiers in Castille and elsewhere. On receiving this letter we were if possible more determined than ever to proceed, but Sandoval earnestly entreated, and persuaded us to halt for a few days, until he could see Cortes, in the hope of persuading him to undertake the journey to Mexico. We wrote back in reply, that as he said he could find soldiers in Castille, so could we governors and generals in Mexico, who would give us plantations for our services, and that we had suffered misfortunes enough already by him. With this answer Sandoval set off, attended by a soldier named Sauzedo, and a farrier, and mounted on his good horse Motilla, swearing by his beard that he would not return until he had put Cortes on board the ship for Mexico.

Now I mention Sandoval's horse, I must observe of him, that he was the swiftest, and the best dressed, and finest figure of any horse in New Spain: he was of a dark chesnut

colour, and such was the fame of Motilla, that it reached the ear of his Majesty, to whom Sandoval intended to present him. Sandoval applied to me at this time for my horse, an excellent animal for career, exercise, or road. He cost me six hundred crowns to one Avalos brother to Saavedra, my former one, which had cost me a greater sum, being killed in an action at a place called Zulaco. However Sandoval exchanged with me one of his, which was killed under me in less than two months; after which I remained with nothing better than a vicious colt, which I bought a bad bargain of from amongst those brought to Truxillo in the two vessels, as I have before related. Sandoval at parting from us desired us to wait his return at a large Indian town named Acalteca. When he reached Truxillo, his friend Cortes was rejoiced to see him, but neither our letter, nor the pressing instances of Sandoval, nor of the reverend father Varillas, could induce him to surmount his aversion to proceed to Mexico.

When Sandoval found it impossible to induce Cortes to go to Mexico, he prevailed upon him to send a confidential servant named Martin de Orantes, with a commission to Pedro de Alvarado, and Francisco de las Casas, to take upon them the government during his absence, in case those officers were in Mexico, and should they not be found there, the same power was to be exercised by the treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and the contador Albornoz, comformably to the deputation given by Cortes to them, previous to his departure from Mexico, those delegated to the factor and veedor being revoked. Cortes having agreed to this, and given his orders and instructions, directed Orantes to land in a bay between Vera Cruz and Panuco, and to suffer no one to go on shore but himself; and the vessel was immediately to hoist sail, and proceed for Panuco. These last instructions were given, that the arrival of his officer should be kept as private as possible until the proper time. He also sent letters by him to all his friends in New Spain, and to the treasurer and con-

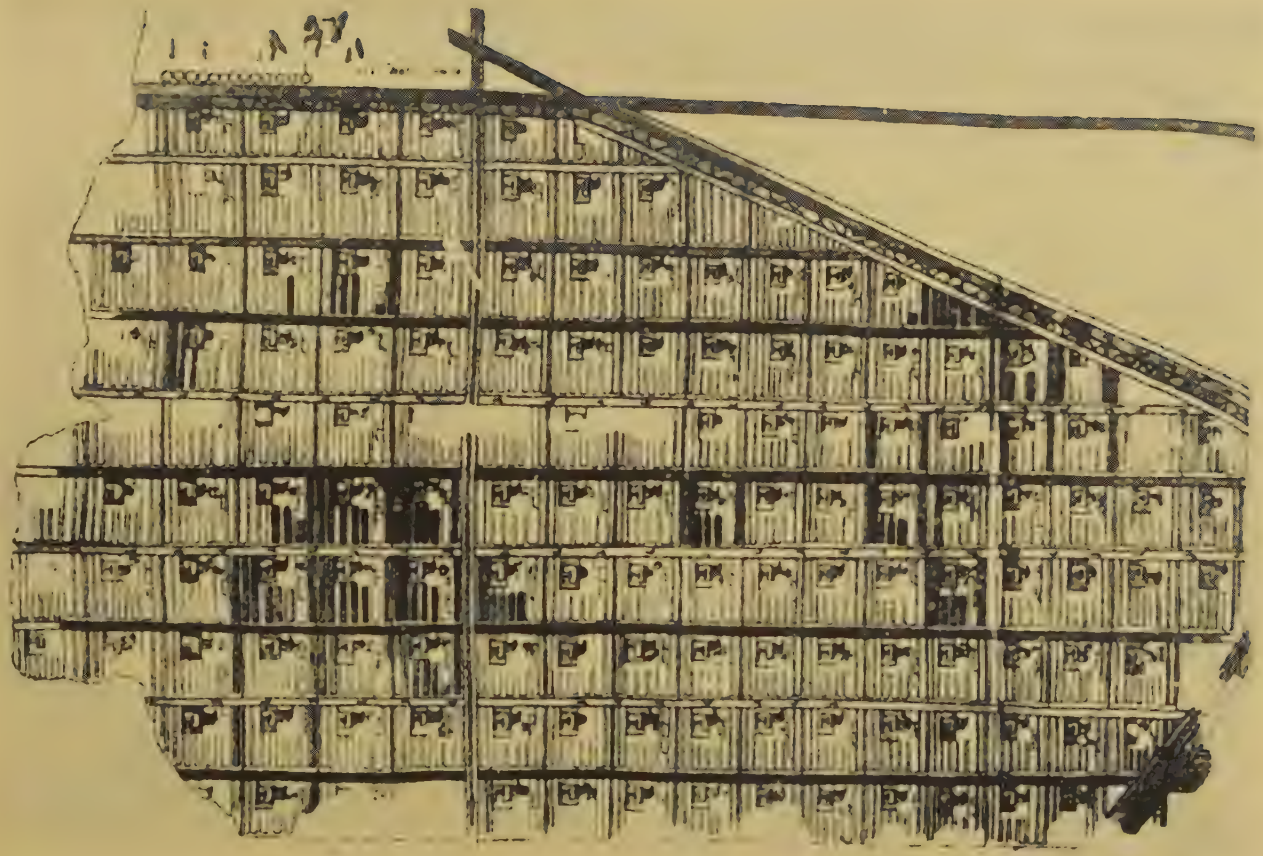
tador, although he knew them in reality not to belong to the number.

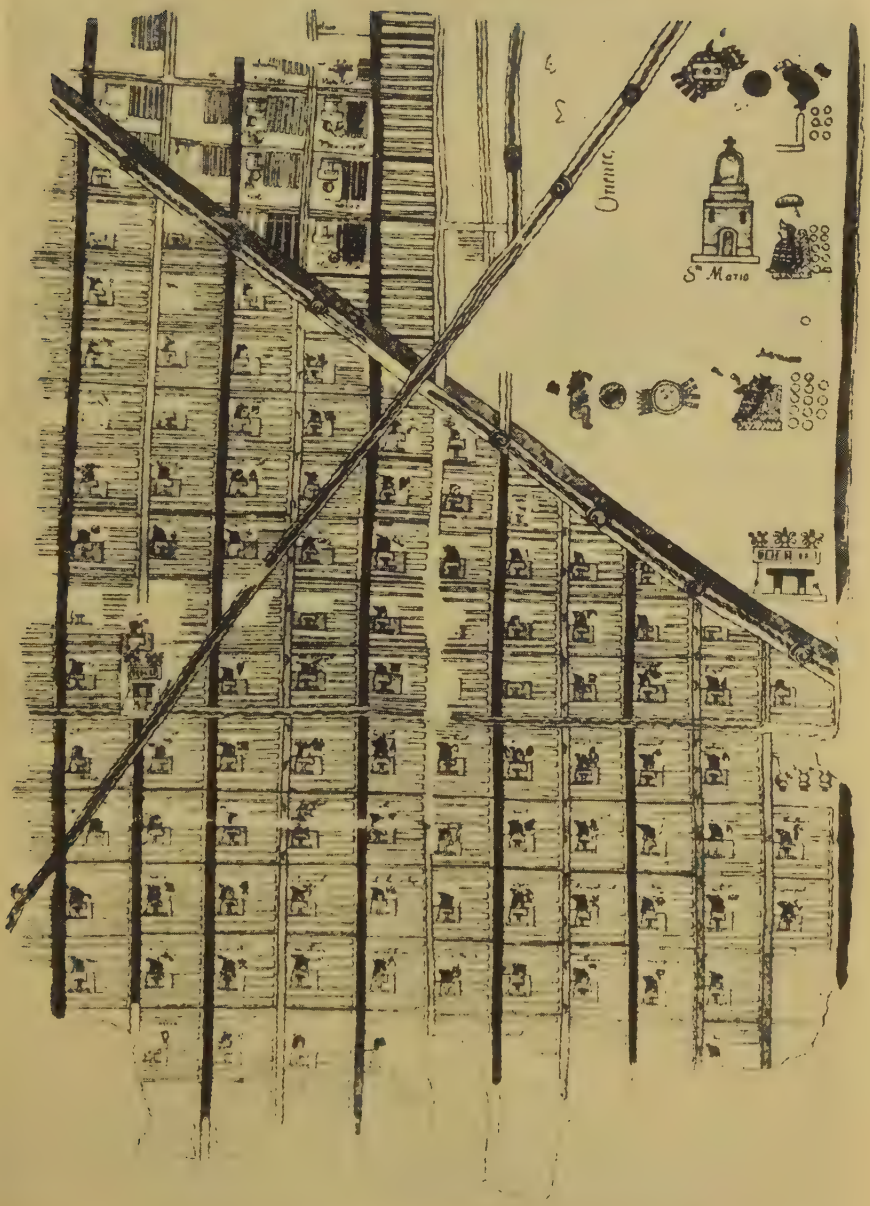
The wind and weather being favourable, in a few days the vessel arrived at its destination, and Orantes on landing disguised himself as a labourer. On his journey he avoided the Spaniards, lodging and mixing only with the natives. Those who had known him before could not have recognized him, after an absence of two years and three months. To such as questioned him he said, that his name was Juan de Flechilla; in this manner, being an active man, he arrived in four days at Mexico, and entering the city after dark, he proceeded directly to the lodgings of the reverend fathers Franciscans. On being admitted, he there found the Alvarados and several of the friends of Cortes, concealed. When he had explained who he was, and produced the general's letters, all present, the reverend fathers not excepted, danced for joy; they immediately locked the gates of the monastery, to exclude the observation of the traitorous party, and at midnight the intelligence was communicated to the treasurer, the contador, and many of the friends of Cortes, who immediately assembled at the Franciscans.

It was then determined by them, as the first step, to seize on the person of the factor in the morning. All the intermediate time was employed in collecting arms and friends, and making other preparations for the purpose. The veedor was at that period at the rock of Coatlan. At day break the whole party marched to the palace inhabited by the factor, crying, "long live his Majesty, and Hernando Cortes." When this was heard by the citizens, they all took to their arms, thinking it something wherein government called for their assistance, and numbers under that idea joined the treasurer on his march. As to the contador, he played a double part, giving intelligence to the factor to put him on his guard, and Estrada reproached him strongly for his conduct.

When the party of Cortes approached the residence of the factor, they found that he was already well prepared, owing to the information that he had received. His artillery under Don Luis de Guzman was planted in front of the house, and he had a strong garrison within side. Those with the treasurer forcing their way in, some by the different doors, others by the terraces and wherever they could get access, all at the same time, and shouting for his Majesty and Cortes, the adherents of the factor became dismayed, and the artillery-men abandoning the guns, the other soldiers also made off and hid themselves; one of them, Gines Nortes, leaping down from a corredor, so that there only remained with the factor, Pedro Gonzalez Sabiote, and four servants. When he found himself thus abandoned, he became desperate, and endeavoured himself to fire off the guns, in which attempt he was seized, and made prisoner. A large cage of timber was constructed to receive him, and thus terminated his career as governor of New Spain. Circular notice was sent to all the provinces of this revolution, by which each individual was pleased or dissatisfied as his particular interest swayed him. When the veedor heard it he was so distressed that he fell sick. He left his command with Captain De Monjaraz, and got himself conveyed towards Mexico, and reaching the monastery of St. Francis in Tezcuco, he there shut himself up, and was shortly after made prisoner and secured in another wooden cage.

Immediate intelligence of all that had happened was forwarded to Pedro de Alvarado, with directions to him to proceed to Truxillo, and wait upon Cortes. The next thing that the new deputies did was, to pay their respects to Juanna de Mansilla, the woman who had been whipped for a witch. The treasurer placed her on horseback behind him, and thus, attended by all the cavaliers in procession, she was paraded through the streets of Mexico like a Roman matron, and was ever after called Donna Juanna, in honour of her constancy, in refusing to comply with the orders of the factor, to marry





PORTIONS OF AN AZTEC PLAN OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF MEXICO.

again, while she was convinced that her husband was living.

The situation of Mexico evidently requiring the presence of Cortes, Fray Diego de Altamirano was pitched on by his friends to wait upon him, and represent to him the necessity of his immediately setting out. This father had been in the military profession before he entered the church, and was a man of business and abilities. The conduct pursued by the the veedor and factor, and especially their confiscations and distribution of property among their greedy supporters, had gained them many adherents, and, if not friends, at least persons interested in the maintenance of their government. These, composed principally of the low and seditious description, but mixed with some of quality, with the support and contrivance of the contador who dreaded the arrival of Cortes, had formed a plan to kill the treasurer, and reinstate the factor and veedor in their offices. For the purpose of releasing them from prison, they had recourse to one Guzman, a white-smith; a fellow of low character, and a ridiculous affecter of wit. To him they applied to make the keys, giving him a piece of gold whereon was marked the form in which they were to be wrought, and charging him at the same time to keep the strictest secrecy. All this he readily undertook and promised, speaking as if he had the liberation of the prisoners sincerely at heart. They then told him all the particulars which his inquisitiveness induced him to question them about, and he proceeded in his work, but slowly and aukwardly, in order to induce them to repeat their visits, to hurry him on; and he thus obtained from the conspirators the knowledge that he required. The keys being finished, and the party ready to make the attempt, he suddenly went to the house of the treasurer, and gave him an account of the whole. The treasurer, assembling the friends of Cortes on the instant, proceeded to the place of meeting, where he found twenty conspirators armed, and in waiting for the signal. These he seized, but many others made their escape. Among these apprehended were some notorious characters;

one of them had lately committed violence on a Castillian woman. They were tried before the bachelor Ortega alcade major, and being convicted, three were hanged, and several whipped.

I must now make a considerable digression from my narrative, though it comes in properly in point of matter, to mention how the same vessel which conveyed the letters transmitted by the factor to his Majesty in Castille, conveyed others, so artfully concealed that he had no suspicion of them, wherein was given a full and true account of all his oppressions, and unlawful proceedings. These facts had also been already reported by the courts of St. Domingo, which contradicted the accounts of the death of Cortes, and informed his Majesty how that officer was employed for his service. The Emperor is reported to have declared his indignation at the manner in which Cortes had been treated, and his determination to support him.

When Fra Altamirano arrived at Truxillo, and explained his business to Cortes, the latter returned thanks to heaven for having granted peace to that country. He also declared his intention of going thither, but that it must be by land, on account of the contrariety of the currents and his own bad state of health. The pilots however represented to him that the season was favourable, it being then the month of April, and prevailed upon him to give up his first determination, but still he could not leave that place until the return of Sandoval, whom he had detached against a Captain Roxas, who served under Arias, and against whom complaints had been lodged by the natives of a district named Olancho, which was distant about fifty five leagues from Truxillo. Sandoval had been detached thither with seventy soldiers; at first the two parties were upon the brink of hostilities, but became afterwards reconciled and parted amicably, Roxas and his soldiers quitting that country.

Sandoval was immediately recalled in consequence of the message brought by Altamirano. The general appointed

Captain Saavedra his lieutenant in that province, and wrote at the same time to Captain Luis Marin, to march our whole party by the road of Guatimala, and Captain Godoy he ordered to Naco. These letters Saavedra maliciously suppressed, for they never came to our hands. Cortes previous to his embarkation confessed to Fra Juan and received the sacrament, for he was so ill that he thought himself at the point of death. The wind favouring his voyage to the Havannah, he soon arrived there, and was joyfully received by his former friends and acquaintances; and a vessel from New Spain which arrived about the same time, brought intelligence that the country was at peace, for that the Indians hearing that Cortes, and we his conquerors were yet living, had come in and submitted.

Chapter viii.

Return of Cortes to Mexico; occurrences there. Return of the author to Mexico.

After five days refreshment at the Havannah, Cortes embarked, and in twelve days arrived at the Port of Medellin, opposite to the Island De los Sacrificios, where he disembarked with twenty soldiers, and proceeding to the town of San Juan de Ulua, which was distant about half a league, it was his fortune to light upon a string of horses and mules which had conveyed travellers to the coast, and which he engaged to take him to Vera Cruz. He ordered those about him to give no hint to any one, who he was, and two hours before day break arriving at the town, he went directly to the church the doors of which were just opened. When the sacristan saw the church filled with people whom he did not know, he became alarmed and ran into the street, calling to the civil power to assist him. The alcaldes, three alguazils and some of the neighbours came with arms in consequence of the noise. Cortes was squalid, and the white habit of the reverend father was dirty from the sea voyage, nor did any one recollect them until Cortes began to speak; but as soon as he was recognized by them, they all fell upon their knees, kissed his hands, and bid him and his attendants welcome. All his old fellow soldiers assembled around him, and after mass, escorted him to the quarters of Pedro Moreno Medrano, where he remained for eight days, during which time he was feasted and entertained by the inhabitants. Intelligence was also sent to Mexico to give the people there the joyful tidings, and Cortes wrote to his friends to the same effect. The Indians of the neighbourhood brought him abundant presents, and when he set out for the city of

Mexico every preparation was made for his accommodation. The inhabitants of Mexico, and of all the places round the lake celebrated his return with festivals, and those of Tlascala did the same.

When he arrived at Tescuco, where the contador came to wait upon him, he thought it proper to remain there for that night, and on the next morning but one he entered the city, being met by all the officers, cavaliers, and other inhabitants, in great state. The natives in their best dresses, and armed as warriors, filled the lake with their canoes; the dancing continued in every street during the day, and at night the city was illuminated with lights at every door. Immediately on his arrival he went to the monastery of St. Francisco, to return thanks to God for all his mercies to him. From that he went to his magnificent palace, where he was served and esteemed, and feared, as a sovereign prince, all the provinces making their submissions, and sending presents and congratulations to him. The entry of Cortes into Mexico was in the month of June. He immediately ordered the arrest of those who had been most eminent for sedition, and faction, and caused an enquiry to be instituted into the conduct of the two great culprits. He also arrested one Ocampo, who had been concerned in defamatory libels, and a person of the name of Ocana a scrivener. This man who was very old was called the body and soul of the factor. He now intended to proceed immediately to bring the veedor and factor to justice for their crimes, and if he had done so no one could have said against it, and it would have met his Majesty's approbation. This I heard said by some members of the royal council of the Indies, the Bishop de las Casas being present, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and forty, when I was attending on my own affairs; but in this instance Cortes may be justly taxed with feebleness of conduct.

The reader has already been informed of the charges brought against Cortes in Castille, and of the orders issued to the admiral of St. Domingo, of the interposition of the

Duke of Bejar, and the appointment of Luis Ponce de Leon. The licentiate at this period of which I am writing, had arrived at Medellin. The suddenness of his coming rather surprised Cortes, who when he received the intelligence, was performing his devotions in the church of St. Francis. He earnestly prayed to the Lord to guide him as seemed best to his holy wisdom, and on coming out of the church sent an express to bring him information of all particulars. In two days after, the licentiate sent him his Majesty's orders to receive him as resident judge in Mexico, and Cortes in consequence thereof dispatched a person with a message of compliment, and desiring to know which of the two roads to the city he intended to take, that he might make such preparations as were proper for the reception of a person of his rank. The licentiate sent him back an answer, thanking him for his polite offers, and declaring his intention to repose after the fatigues of his voyage for a little time, where he was. This interval was busily employed by the enemies of Cortes, who represented to the licentiate that it was his determination to put the factor and veedor to death, before his arrival, and that it was necessary for him to take good care as to his own person, for as to all these civilities of Cortes, they were only intended, by ascertaining the road that he intended to take, under the colour of preparation to do him honour, the more effectually to succeed in his intention to assassinate him. They also misrepresented every transaction in which Cortes had been concerned.

The persons whom the licentiate principally consulted were the alcalde major Proano, a native of Cordova, and his brother the alcalde of the citadel, named Salazar de la Pedrada, who shortly after his arrival died of a pleurisy, Marcos de Aguilar a licentiate or bachelor, a soldier named Bocanegra de Cordova, and certain fathers of the order of St. Domingo, the provincial of whom was one Fray Thomas Ortiz. He had been a prior some where that I do not now

recollect, and all those who came with him described him to be a man more fit for worldly affairs than those which particularly concerned his holy office. With these persons the licentiate consulted as to his proceeding to Mexico, which they all were of opinion should not be delayed an instant. Accordingly, the last messengers dispatched by Cortes met him on the road at Iztapalapa. A sumptuous banquet was here prepared for them, at which, after several abundant and magnificent services, some cheesecakes and custards were placed upon the table, as great delicacies. They were so much approved of, and some of the company eat of them in such quantities, that they made them sick; but those who eat of them in moderation were not at all affected. However this prior, Fray Thomas Ortiz, asserted that they had been poisoned with arsenic, and that he had not eaten of them from a suspicion that they were so; but others who were present declared, that he stuffed himself heartily with them, and said that they were the best he had ever tasted. This new charge was immediately seized on and circulated by the enemies of Cortes, to throw an odium upon him.

During this time Cortes remained in Mexico; report said that he had sent a good present of gold to the licentiate; this I cannot warrant; but as he had persons stationed to bring him intelligence, on his quitting Iztapalapa Cortes set out to meet him, with a grand and numerous retinue of all the officers and gentlemen of the city. When the two parties met, many civilities passed between the great men; the licentiate seemed to me to be well acquainted with the rules of politeness. It was with great difficulty that Cortes could prevail upon him to take the right hand. On his entry into the city he proceeded to the monastery of St. Francisco, business being deferred till the ensuing day. Cortes attended the licentiate to the palace prepared for him, where he entertained him most sumptuously, but his politeness and grandeur of manner was more striking than all the rest, in-

somuch that the licentiate observed privately to his friends, that Cortes must have been for a long time past exercising himself in the manners of a great man.

On the ensuing day, the council of Mexico, and all the civil and military officers, and the veteran soldiers, were assembled by order; and in their presence the licentiate Ponce de Leon produced his authority from his Majesty, which Cortes having kissed, and placed upon his head in token of submission, they all declared our obedience to, as in duty bound. The licentiate then received and returned back the rod of justice, in token of the surrender of the government into his hands, saying to Cortes, "General, this government I receive from you by his Majesty's orders, wherein however it is by no means implied that you are not most worthy of this, or higher trusts." To which the general replied, that he was always happy in obeying his Majesty's commands, and that it was also a satisfaction to him, that he would be thereby enabled to prove the falsehood and malice of his enemies. The licentiate in answer said, that where were good men, there were also bad, and such was the world; but that to each would be repaid in kind. This was all the material business of the day. On the next, Cortes attended the summon of the new governor, who sent it with much respect, and they had a conference, at which no one was present except the prior Thomas Ortiz; but it is said and believed that the licentiate addressed Cortes to the following effect. He first observed that it had been his Majesty's intention, that those who had most merit in the conquest of this country, should be well provided for in the distribution of plantations, considering more especially the soldiers who first came thither from Cuba; and that it had been understood, that this was not the case, for that they had been neglected, while others newly arrived had wealth heaped upon them, without any just pretensions. Cortes, to this, replied, that all had got shares, but that some of these it was true turned out much inferior to others; however it was in his power as

governor now to rectify that. The governor then asked him how it happened that he had left Luis de Godoy to perish for want in a distant settlement, when the veterans ought to have been suffered to remain and enjoy the comforts of established possessions in Mexico, and the new colonizations have been assigned to new comers. He also enquired how Captain Luis Marin, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, and the others of his approved soldiers had been taken care of. Cortes replied, that for business of danger it was useless to employ any but his veterans; but that they would soon he expected return to Mexico, being then upon their road thither. The governor next asked him, rather sharply, about his imprudent march against Christoval de Oli, undertaken without his Majesty's orders or permission. To which Cortes answered, that he considered it to be necessary for his Majesty's service, as the dangerous effects of such example among officers intrusted with separate commands might be very extensive, and that he had, previous to setting out, reported to his Majesty his intention so to do. He then questioned Cortes as to the affairs of Narvaez, Garay, and Tapia, to all which Cortes gave such satisfactory answers that the governor seemed to be well contented therewith.

After Cortes had retired, Fray Thomas Ortiz called on three persons intimate friends of the general, and with great earnestness told them the same which he on the ensuing morning told to Cortes himself; for coming to him at that time, and desiring to speak to him in private, he then assured him, with many protestations of friendship, and wishes to serve him, that the governor had secret orders from his Majesty, immediately to behead him, and that he had thought it proper, in conformity with the duty of his sacred function, as well as from his private regard, to give him early intelligence. This friendly communication it may be supposed gave Cortes a good deal to reflect upon; he had been informed of the intriguing and simulating character of the friar, and was induced to think that this might be done to

induce him to give a bribe for his intercession. Others said afterwards that Ortiz acted by the directions of the governor. Cortes, however, received his pretended friendly information with many thanks, declaring his hopes that his Majesty had a different opinion of his services, than to proceed against him in that manner, and that he had too high an opinion of the governor, to suppose he would do any thing without warrant. When the friar found that his tricks were not attended by the effect that he had flattered himself with, he remained much confused, and did not know what to say.

The new governor issued public notice, that all who had complaints to make against the former administration of the country, should bring them forward, whether they were concerning Cortes, the civil, or the military officers. In consequence of this a host of accusers, litigants, and claimants, started up. All the general's private enemies brought accusations against him; others who had really justice on their side laid claim to what was due to them. Some alledged that they had not received their proper shares of gold, others that they had not been sufficiently rewarded, and others demanded remuneration for their horses killed in the wars, although they had gotten ten times the value in gold; and some demanded satisfaction for personal injuries. Just at the period when the governor had opened his court to give a hearing to all the parties, it was God's will, and for our sins and misfortunes, that he should be taken suddenly ill of a fever, and a lethargy coming on him he remained in that state four days. His three physicians then advised him to confess and receive the sacrament, which he did with great devotion, and appointed as his successor in the government, Marcos de Aguilar who had come with him from Castille. Some said that the latter was only a bachelor and not a licentiate, and therefore incapable of acting; however the governor left him orders not to proceed further with the business of the court, but that all should be laid before his Majesty. On the ninth day from the time he was taken ill,

the governor gave up his breath to our Lord. The whole city went into mourning on the occasion. The military deplored his loss with particular reason, for he certainly intended to redress all abuses, and to reward us according to our merits.

I heard an anecdote of him, at the time of his death, and it was this. He was of a gay disposition and fond of music; to divert his lethargy, his attendants brought a lute, and played upon it in his apartment; and they said that while they played him a favourite air, he beat time to it, and just as it was finished he expired. What malignities and slanders were now circulated against Cortes, by his enemies in Mexico! they said that he and Sandoval had poisoned the governor, as he had before done Garay. The most busy in this malicious affair was the friar Ortiz. It appeared as if the vessel which brought them had been infected with the disease of which the governor died; above a hundred of those who came in it having died at sea or after landing. All the friars except a very few were swept off, and the contagion pervaded the city of Mexico.

It was the wish of those who were enemies to Cortes, that the enquiry should be proceeded on in the same manner as was intended before the death of the late governor. Cortes asserted his readiness, provided that the new governor Aguilar would take upon him the responsibility of acting contrary to the testament of his predecessor. The council of Mexico however insisted that Aguilar was ineligible to that high situation, on account of his age, infirmities, and other incapacities, which indeed were pretty evident. They therefore recommended that Cortes should be associated with him, but he insisted on adhering strictly to the letter of the testament of his predecessor, and Cortes was also entirely adverse to taking any share of the authority, for private reasons, so that the whole weight rested on this poor hectic old man, who was obliged to drink goat's milk, and to be suckled by a Castillian woman to keep him alive.

I will now go to a distance both in time and place, to relate that which happened to us on our journey to Mexico from Naco, where we were waiting to hear from Sandoval, who was to send us notice of the sailing of Cortes, which intelligence we never received, Saavedra, I have already mentioned, maliciously suppressing the letters with which he was intrusted.

When our captain Marin and the rest of us found that we were disappointed, in the receipt of our expected intelligence, we determined to send a party to Truxillo to learn the truth. Accordingly ten of the cavalry, of which I was one, set out, and on our arrival at a place named Olancho, we learned from some Spaniards that Cortes had sailed. This intelligence was soon after confirmed to us in a communication we had with Saavedra; we therefore returned to our Captain Marin with the good news, and soon after we all set out with joyful hearts for Mexico. I recollect we threw stones at the country we left behind us.

On our way, at a place called Maniani, we met five soldiers who had been sent by Alvarado in search of us. They were commanded by one of our veterans named Diego de Villanueva, a brave soldier. As soon as we had recognized each other and saluted, we enquired for his Captain Alvarado, who, he informed us was not far distant, and whom accordingly, after two days march farther, we fell in with. Our meeting took place at the town of Cholulteca Malalaca, and a third party joined us there, composed of captains under Pedro Arias de Avila, who met Alvarado's party to adjust some difference about bounds. We remained here together for three days. Alvarado at this time sent one Gaspar Arias de Avila, a confidential friend of his to treat with Captain Pedro Arias, about some particular business, I believe relative to a marriage; for Captain P. A. de Avila seemed much devoted to Alvarado.

Continuing our march, we crossed a hostile country where the natives killed one of our soldiers, and wounded three

others. The want of time prevented our punishing them as they deserved. Further on, in Guatimala, they had also manned the passes against us, and we were detained three days in forcing our way; here I received a wound of an arrow, but it was of little consequence. We then arrived at the valley where the city of Guatimala is now built, the people of which were all hostile; I recollect that here we had a number of shocks of an earthquake, very long in their duration, and so violent as to throw several of the soldiers to the ground.

When we passed old Guatimala, the natives had assembled to give us an hostile reception, but we drove them away before us, and took possession of their magnificent dwellings and quadrangles, for that night, and on the ensuing day we hutted ourselves on the plain, where we halted for ten days; during which time Alvarado sent summons to the neighbouring Indians, to come in and submit. We delayed here to receive their answers, which none of them thought proper to send. We then proceeded on our journey by long marches, until we reached the station of Alvarado's main force, at Olintepeque. After halting there for some days we proceeded on towards Mexico, by Soconuzco, and Teguantepeque. On this march we lost two of our Spaniards, and the Mexican lord Juan Velasquez who had been a chief under Guatimotzin.

When we arrived at Guaxaca, we learned the news of the death of the governor Ponce de Leon. Anxiously pressing forward for Mexico, we arrived at Chalco, from whence we sent forward messengers to Cortes to inform him of our approach, and requesting that he would provide us good quarters, which we much required, for it was now two years and three months since we set out upon our expedition. As Cortes knew of our approach, he rode out with many cavaliers to meet us on the causeway, and accompany us into the city. We went on our arrival, to the great church, to return our thanks to God. From thence we attended the general to

his palace, where he had a sumptuous entertainment provided for us. Alvarado went to his residence in the fortress, of which he had been appointed alcalde. Luis Marin went to lodge with Sandoval, and I and another friend named Captain Luis Sanchez, were taken by Andrez de Tapia to his house. Sandoval and all our friends, and Cortes among the rest, sent us presents of necessaries, as also gold and cocoa for our expences.

On the next day my friend and I, accompanied by Sandoval and Andres de Tapia, proceeded to wait upon the governor Aguilar, who received us with much politeness, but declared his inability to make any new arrangements, the whole being left to his Majesty's arbitration; but that if he was authorised, he would do every thing that lay in his power to give us satisfaction. At this time arrived from the Island of Cuba, Diego de Ordaz whom I have already mentioned as the circulator of the report of our deaths; he was severely taxed for his impropriety, but most solemnly denied it to us, averring that he had only written an account of the unfortunate affair at Xicalonga as it really happened, and any misrepresentation that was made, the factor was accountable for; and for the truth of what he asserted he referred to his letters. Cortes had at this time too much business on his hands to embarrass himself any further with this; he therefore thought proper to drop it, and endeavour to rescue his property, which had been disposed of upon the supposition of his death. A great part of it had been appropriated to the expences of celebrating his funeral service, and to the saying masses for his soul and ours, to give credit to the report; and these perpetual masses which had been so purchased out of the property of Cortes upon the supposition of his death, and for the good of his soul, were now that he was found to be alive, and no longer to be in need of them, purchased by one Juan de Caceres, for the benefit of his own soul, whenever he was to die; so that Cortes was more removed from the re-attainment of his property than ever.

Ordas who was a wise man and one of experience in worldly affairs, seeing that Cortes was neglected and had fallen in public estimation since his being superceded by the governor Ponce de Leon, advised him to assume more consequence and a more stately appearance than his natural disposition prompted him to, in order to maintain the respect that was due to him; but such was his natural plainness of manners, that he never at any time liked to be called otherwise than simply, Cortes, and truly it was a great and noble name in itself, and as much revered as Cæsar's and Pompey's in the time of the Romans, Hannibal's among the Carthaginians, or in our time that of Gonzalo Hernandez, or the most valiant and ever invincible Diego Garcia de Paredes. Ordaz also informed Cortes of the report that was circulated through Mexico, of its being his intention to put the factor to death privately in jail, and he warned him of the man being powerfully patronised.

The treasurer Estrada at this time married off two of his daughters; one to Jorge de Alvarado, another to Don Luis de Guzman son to the Count De Castellar. It was then settled that Pedro de Alvarado should go to Castille to solicit the government of Guatimala, and he in the mean time sent his brother Jorge to that province with a force of our allies of different nations, to reduce it. The governor also about that period sent a force against the province of Chiapa under the command of Don Juan Enriquez de Guzman, a near relation of the duke of Medina Sidonia; an other to the province of Tabasco under Balthasar Ossorio, and a third against the Zapotecan mountaineers under Alonzo de Herrera, one of our veterans.

After lingering for eight months, the governor Marcos de Aguilar gave up the ghost, leaving by testament the treasurer Alonzo de Estrada his successor. At this time, the council of Mexico and many principal Spaniards were solicitous that Cortes should be associated with the treasurer in the government, the latter appearing entirely incompetent

at the present juncture, more particularly for the following reason. Nuno de Guzman who had for two years governed the province of Panuco, was a man of a most furious and tyrannical disposition, arbitrarily extending the bounds of his jurisdiction, and putting to death all who dared to oppose his will. Thus Pedro Gonzales de Truxillo, a person of noble condition, asserting with truth that his district was a dependency of Mexico, the other without any ceremony ordered him to be immediately hanged, which was accordingly done, contrary to all justice. He also put many other Spaniards to death, apparently for no reason except to make himself feared, and set the authority of the governor of Mexico at defiance. In order therefore to curb the insolence of Guzman, it was the wish of many that Cortes should take a share in the government, but he was utterly adverse to it, knowing the difficulties, and the dangerous power and more dangerous malignity of his enemies, for as usual, upon the death of Aguilar the story was again industriously circulated, that it was owing to poison given him by Cortes.

It was determined on the peremptory refusal of the latter, that Sandoval who was alguazil major, should act conjointly with the treasurer, and he was willingly accepted as an associate by him. His first business on entering into office was, to endeavour to bring to justice one Ruano, who had fled from Mexico for some crime. He since became a rich man, for, escaping for the present, he eluded justice altogether, though Sandoval did his utmost to apprehend him.

Certain persons, the inveterate and active enemies of Cortes, now persuaded the treasurer to write to Castille, to represent at court, that he had been compelled by the influence of Cortes, to associate Sandoval with him in the government, contrary to his inclination, and to his Majesty's service. They by the same opportunity transmitted a volume of malignant falsehoods, which they had raked up against the general, such as that he had poisoned Luis Ponce de Leon, and Marcos de Aguilar the governors, as also the Adelantado

Garay, and that he had endeavoured to administer arsenic in cheesecakes to a number of people at a feast. Also that he was plotting the secret murders of the veedor and factor in jail. All which lies were supported by the industry of the contador Albornoz, who was then in Castille. He was also charged strongly as to the death of his first wife, and these things being thus urged, Cortes was in part judged unheard, an order being sent to release the veedor and factor, and an officer named Don Pedro de la Cueva commendador major of Alcantara, was ordered to go with three hundred soldiers, at the cost of Cortes, and in case of his guilt being proved, to inflict the punishment of death upon him, and distribute his property amongst the veteran conquerors of Mexico. This was however to be done under the judgment of a royal court of audience, to be present upon the spot for the purpose. All these preparations however ended in nothing; for neither Don Pedro de la Cueva, nor the court of royal audience ever arrived.

The treasurer was now greatly elevated by the countenance which he received at court, and which he attributed to his being considered a son of the catholic king. He disposed of governments at his pleasure, sending his relation Mazariejos to make enquiry into the conduct of Don Juan Enriquez de Guzman in Chiapa, where they say more pillage and plunder took place than ought to have done. He also sent a force against the Zapotecans and Minxes under one De Barrios, said to be a brave soldier, and who had served in Italy. I do not mean Barrios of Seville, the brother-in-law of Cortes. This officer marched against them with a hundred soldiers, but the natives surprised him one night, and killed him with seven more of the party. Such was the difference between us the veteran conquerors, and these raw half formed soldiers, who did not know the arts and stratagems of the enemy. The governor also sent a hundred of the new soldiers, under the command of a particular friend named Figuero, to the province of Guaxaca. On his route

by the Zapotecans, Figuero fell in with a captain left in command there by Marcos de Aguilar, named Alonzo Herrera, and some dispute arising between them, swords were drawn, Herrera wounding Figuero, and three other soldiers who were with him. Figuero finding himself not able to go into the field, and his soldiers not being fit for expeditions in the mountains, thought proper to search for and break open the sepulchres, in which the ancient chiefs of those countries were interred, to make prize of the gold, which according to custom was buried with them. In this manner he collected to the value of above one hundred thousand crowns, and with this wealth, which was increased by presents, he set off for Mexico, leaving the provinces in a worse state than he found them. From Mexico he went to Vera Cruz, and embarking for Castille, the vessel in which he sailed was lost in a gale of wind, and he and all his wealth went to the bottom. The business of subjecting these Indians was finally left to us, the conquerors of Guacacualco, who at length brought them to peace, for their custom was to submit during the summer, and to break into rebellion as soon as the torrents made their country inaccessible. I was on three expeditions against them. The town of St. Alfonso is now built there, to keep them in subjection.

When the governor heard how his friend had been maltreated by Herrera, he sent the officers of justice to apprehend him; he however escaped to the rocks and woods, but they took a soldier who used to accompany him, and brought him prisoner to Mexico, where, without a hearing, the governor ordered his right hand to be struck off. His name was Cortejo, and by birth he was a gentleman.

A servant of Sandoval also at this time wounded a servant of the treasurer, in a quarrel. The treasurer had him arrested, and commanded his right hand to be cut off. Cortes and Sandoval were at this time at a place called Quernavaca, partly from motives of prudence. On hearing of this insult they posted off to Mexico, and it is said that Cortes used such

expressions to the treasurer upon the subject, as to put the latter in fear of his life. He called his friends about him to form a guard for his person, and immediately released the veedor and factor from jail. By their advice the governor was then induced to issue an order, for the instant expulsion of Cortes from Mexico. This being represented to Cortes, he declared his readiness to obey, since it was the will of God, that he who had gained that city, at the expence of his best blood, by day and by night, should be banished from it, by the base and unworthy: and that he would set out immediately, and demand justice from his Majesty.

Instantly therefore quitting the city, he went to one of his country residences at Cuyoacan, from whence in a few days he proceeded towards the coast. At this time the lady of the treasurer, a person well worthy of memory for her many virtues, seeing the dangerous consequences likely to result from his absurd and arbitrary conduct, expostulated with him on it, reminding him of the many favours he had received from Cortes, the ingratitude with which he had repaid him, and the many friends that Cortes had. These representations are said to have operated on the mind of the treasurer, so as to cause sincere repentance of the steps that he had taken.

At this time arrived in New Spain Fray Julian Garrios, first bishop of Tlascala, and who in honour to our lord the most christian Emperor was named Carolense. When this reverend prelate heard of the proceedings of the governor against Cortes, he was highly displeased with them, and two days after his arrival in Mexico where he was received with great pomp, at the request of the governor, he undertook to mediate betwixt them. Many of these seditious persons such as there are in all societies, knowing the dissatisfaction of Cortes, offered him their services if he would set himself up as an independent monarch, in New Spain. These people he immediately arrested, threatening to put them to death, and he wrote directly to the bishop of Tlascala, to inform him

of the treason. He had also received similar offers from Mexico, which he treated in the same manner. The reports of what was going on however, so terrified the veedor and factor, who did not know to what extent Cortes might be induced to go, that they became incessant in their solicitations to the governor to accelerate the departure of the bishop of Tlascala. This prelate having waited upon Cortes, and found every part of his conduct perfectly to his satisfaction, wrote back to Mexico to inform the government there of the result of his observations; the unalterable determination of Cortes to go to Old Spain, and a severe censure from himself, upon the misconduct of those who had been the cause of his quitting Mexico. I do not know whether Cortes returned to that city in order to arrange his private concerns, but he appointed several agents for that purpose, the principal of whom was the licentiate Altamirano. He brought with him from Mexico many curiosities of the country for his Majesty, such as various kinds of birds unknown in Europe, two tigers, many barrels of ambergris and indurated balsam, and another kind that resembled oil, four Indians expert at playing the stick with their feet, other Indian dancers who had a manner of appearing as if they flew in the air, three hump-backed dwarfs of extraordinary deformity, and also some male and female Indians whose skins were remarkable for their whiteness, and who have a natural defect of vision. He was also attended by several young chiefs of the Tlascalan and Mexican nations, whom he consented to take to Europe with him, at their own requests.

Chapter ix.

Cortes goes to Europe; is created Marquis of the Valley of Guaxaca. Account of various transactions and occurrences in Old and New Spain. Death and character of the Marquis of the Valley.

Cortes now received letters from the president of the Indies, the Duke of Bejar, and several other of his friends, informing him of the necessity of his appearance in Castille, to do away the malignant accusations of his enemies. Others also informed him of the death of his father Martin Cortes. Having performed the funeral obsequies to his father, he ordered two ships to be purchased, which he stored with such quantities of provisions of every kind, that the overplus when he arrived in Spain, would have sufficed for a two years voyage.

For making these preparations he employed his major domo who was named Esquival. This officer crossing the lake of Mexico to Ayotcingo in a large canoe with six Indian rowers and one Negro, and having some ingots of gold in his possession, was way-laid and murdered somewhere on the lake. The manner of his death never was known, neither canoe, Indians, or Negro, ever being traced. The body of Esquival was found four days after in a small island, half eaten by birds of prey. There were many suspicions entertained about this affair; the man was said to be a great boaster of the favours he received from the ladies. There were also other bad stories told of him, which gave rise to suspicions of such a nature as I cannot relate; no great enquiry was made as to his death, God pardon him his sins! Cortes appointed other officers to complete the preparations for his

voyage. He offered by proclamation a free passage to all such Spaniards as obtained a permission from the government to go to Castille, and a supply of provisions to them on the voyage.

All things being ready, and having confessed and comulgated, he embarked in company with Sandoval, Tapia, and other cavaliers, and after a voyage of forty one days arrived in Europe, disembarking near the town of Palos; as soon as he set his foot on shore he fell on his knees, to return thanks to God for his mercies. His arrival in Old Spain was in the month of December in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty seven. To good fortune succeeded grief, by the death of the brave Captain Sandoval, after a lingering sickness, at his lodgings in the house of a rope maker at Palos, who, in his presence, robbed him of thirteen bars of gold. This rogue perceiving his weak situation, sent his servants on a pretended message from Sandoval to Cortes, who was then at Nuestra Senora de la Ravida, and having the house to himself, went into Sandoval's room, and breaking open his chest, took out the gold, while our poor friend lay in bed unable to resist him, and apprehensive, if he made any outcry, that the fellow would smother him in the bedclothes. As soon as he had got the gold he made his escape with it into Portugal, where he could not be pursued. Cortes shortly after arrived, and was informed of what had happened, but pursuit was too late. Sandoval then grew worse every hour, and the physicians recommended confession; which being done, and having received the holy sacrament, in a short time after he gave up the ghost, but not before he had made a will, whereby he left his property to a sister who afterwards married a natural son of the Count de Medelin. Sandoval died universally regretted. His funeral was attended by a great train of mourners, among whom was Cortes. God pardon him his sins! amen.

Cortes sent an express to his Majesty, and also to his patrons at court, informing them of his arrival, and also of

the death of his friend Sandoval, whose merits and services were known to his Majesty, and for whose loss he was pleased to express great regret. The Duke of Bejar and the Count of Aguilar, on receiving the intelligence, waited on his Majesty, but found him in possession of it by the letter of Cortes. His Majesty seemed to have at present a conviction of that officer's loyalty, for which his friend the Duke of Bejar had been three times obliged to engage his life, for he was pleased to order that in all the cities and towns through which Cortes passed, he should be received with the highest honour.

When he arrived at Seville he was entertained there by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who made him a present of several beautiful horses. From thence he proceeded, to attend the nine days devotions to our Lady of Guadeloupe. Donna Maria, wife of the commendador Don Francisco de los Cobos, with many other ladies of great rank arrived at the same time. As soon as Cortes had paid his devotions, given charity to the poor, and ordered mass to be said, he went attended by all his retinue of cavaliers to pay his respects to Donna Maria, the beautiful lady her sister, and the many others of distinguished rank who were in her company. Here Cortes had an opportunity of exhibiting that politeness, gallantry, and generosity, in which he surpassed all men. He made presents of golden ornaments of great value, to all, but more especially to Donna Maria and her sister: and to each lady he gave a penache of green feathers, richly ornamented with gold. He then produced his Indian dancers who threw the stick from one foot to another, to the astonishment of the spectators, and in addition to all this, understanding that one of the mules belonging to the sister of Donna Maria was unable to travel, he caused to be purchased for her two of the finest that could be procured for money. He also waited the departure of those ladies for the court, attending them upon the journey and providing magnificent entertainments for them, the honours of which he did with

a grace peculiar to himself, insomuch that Donna Maria de Mendoza began to entertain thoughts of an alliance between her sister and Cortes. However in marriages as in other cases it is the hand of God which leads us, and therefore no more need be said upon the subject. Donna Maria was so taken with the politeness and generosity of Cortes, that she wrote to the commendador of Leon saying, that the fame of Cortes and his heroic actions was far short of the judgment which must be formed of him, by those who had the good fortune of his acquaintance, and brought over her husband completely to his interest.

When our general arrived at court, his Majesty was pleased to appoint the apartments to receive him, and his friends came out in a body to meet him on the road. On the ensuing day he went by permission to throw himself at his Majesty's feet, being attended by the Duke of Bejar, the admiral of the Indies, and the commendador of Leon. His Majesty commanded him to rise, and Cortes, after a short enumeration of his services, and vindication of his conduct from the aspersions of his enemies, presented a memorial wherein the whole was fully detailed. His Majesty having received it, commanded him to rise, and immediately honoured him with the title of Marquis del Valle, and the order of St. Jago. He also gave him an estate to maintain his new dignity, and confirmed him captain general of New Spain and of the south seas. Cortes, thus loaded with honours, retired from the royal presence to receive in a few days a still greater than all. Shortly after his arrival in Toledo he fell dangerously ill; when the Emperor heard it, he did him the honour of paying him a visit in person. He however recovered in a short time, and the particular favour of his Majesty encouraged him to assume a rank and character equal to his high title. One sunday that his Majesty was at mass in the cathedral, and seated according to custom with his nobility each in his proper station, Cortes, designedly as it is said, came there late, and after all

were seated; and passing before the whole of them, took his place next to the Count de Nasao, who was nearest to the Emperor. This gave great offence to many though others said it was by the Emperor's desire. Indeed Cortes began to feel his elevation so much, that it made him not hold some of his former patrons in the estimation he ought, all his attention being bestowed on the Duke of Bejar, the Count de Nasao, and the admiral. Thinking that now the ball was at his foot with the support of such great men, he applied to the Emperor for the government of New Spain; this request, though supported by his patrons, did not succeed, his Majesty thinking he had done sufficiently and that some of his attention was due to those conquerors, by whose assistance he had gained that country. From this time Cortes did not seem so much in favour as before.

His Majesty was then proceeding on his journey to Flanders. After his departure, the marriage took place between the Marquis del Valle, and Donna Juana de Zuniga, on which occasion he presented his lady with the most magnificent jewels that ever had been in Castille. Her Majesty Queen Isabella, from the account given by the lapidaries, expressed a wish to have some, which Cortes accordingly presented her with, but it is said that they were not so fine or so valuable as those which he gave to his lady.

I will now relate some other circumstances, such as I have heard concerning him while he resided in Castille. One was, that Queen Isabella was not his friend on account of the appearances of ingratitude in his conduct to his patrons, and also in consequence of the inferiority of the presents which he made her. However she ordered in the Emperor's absence, that he should have every support from the council of the Indies. Cortes at this time obtained permission to fit out two ships on a voyage of discovery to the south seas, with a condition that he should enjoy certain rights and revenues from whatever lands were acquired to the crown of Spain. Don Pedro de la Cueva was at this time at court;

this was the officer who was to have gone to Mexico to try, and if found guilty, to execute Cortes. They were now on the most amicable and intimate footing. Don Pedro told him that even his innocence would have been sufficiently expensive to him, as the costs of the expedition, which he must have paid, amounted to upwards of three hundred thousand crowns. All those, and other particulars we received an account of in private letters, as well from the Marquis del Valle, as from other persons. He now sent a gentleman to Rome, to kiss the feet of his Holiness Pope Clement, and with a rich present of gold, silver, and jewels. He also sent some of the Indians who played with the stick, and a full memorial of all circumstances concerning the newly discovered country. He also took this opportunity to supplicate for a partial remission of the tithes of New Spain.

This gentleman, Juan de Herrada, was a brave soldier, who attended Cortes in his expedition to Honduras. After he returned from Europe he went to Peru, where Don Diego de Almagro left him in the office of governor to his son. He was highly in the confidence of this family, and served as Maestre de Campo to the young Almagro; he was also captain of the party which killed Don Francisco Pizarro the elder.

His Holiness on the receipt of the letters returned thanks to God for the opportunity of making so many thousand converts to the holy faith. He also praised the services rendered by us, to the church and our monarch, and sent us bulls of indulgence from penalties of our sins, with others for churches and hospitals. In regard to the tithes, I do not know what was done. The Indians were brought to dance before his Holiness and the cardinals, who expressed their high satisfaction at their performances. After Herrada had concluded his business at Rome, he returned with a liberal reward from Pope Clement, who gave him the title and rank of count palatine, and wrote by him, strongly requesting for

him a grant of a considerable plantation in New Spain, which he never received, and in consequence went to Peru.

While Cortes was in Castille, the members of the royal court of audience arrived in Mexico. Nuno de Guzman formerly governor of Panuco was the president. The Oydors were, four licentiates, by name Matienzo, Delgadillo, Maldonado, (I do not mean Alonzo Maldonado the good who was governor of Guatimala) and Parada. These magistrates from their first arrival shewed a determination to do justice. They were armed with greater powers than any officers ever sent by his Majesty to New Spain. They were also intrusted with the management of the final partition of landed property, wherein his Majesty had particularly charged them to take care of the interests of the conquerors. On their arrival, they issued a proclamation, requiring the attendance of an agent from each settlement, with memorials and returns of the several districts. The agents all arrived in the course of a few days. I was then in Mexico on my office of procurador sindico of the town of Guacacualco; I posted off to the last mentioned place, in order to attend at the election of the agents, about which there was a violent contest but plurality of voices decided it in favour of Captain Luis Marin and myself. When we arrived at Mexico we found that two of the oydors were dead of pleurisies, and that the factor Salazar had acquired so complete an ascendency over the others, that they did nothing but as he advised them. It was lucky for Cortes that he was not at Mexico; the death of the two oydors would have been certainly laid to his charge.

The agents now called loudly for a final repartition; but the factor had persuaded the president and oydors, not to agree to that which would be a diminution of their influence, by taking so much patronage out of their hands. It was also settled, that Salazar should go to Europe to solicit the government of New Spain for the president Guzman. He

actually sailed, but being overtaken by a storm was shipwrecked on the coast near Guacacualco, from whence he returned to Mexico. The treasurer Estrada died in a short time after his being superseded, which he was more by his own tameness than from any right they could prove from his Majesty's orders, for they were, that he should govern solely; nor was any thing said of associating Guzman with him; whereas the latter usurped the government to himself entirely, from the time he was appointed president of the court. He was much regretted by all, having conducted himself in such a manner as to give universal satisfaction, nor would he have wanted support if he had insisted on maintaining his office.

A commission was appointed at Guatimala, where Jorge de Alvarado was established, but I do not know the result of it.

In Mexico they proceeded with great severity against the Marquis del Valle. The factor especially took the opportunity to revile and slander him in the grossest manner, and foulest expressions. The Marquis's friend the licentiate Altamarano remonstrated with the court upon these indecencies, but to no good effect, for the factor, countenanced by Guzman and the rest, became more abusive than before. The court was thereby thrown into confusion; for Altamirano was at last so provoked as to draw his poniard, and would have put the factor to death had it not been for the interference of those present. Altimirano was carried to the fortress, the other was sent to his house, and the whole city was in an uproar. The licentiate, upon our supplication, was at the end of three days released from confinement, and the present matter was made up; but a greater storm succeeded, for at this time there arrived in Mexico one Zavalos, a relation of the Captain Pamfillo de Narvaez, who had been sent by the wife of the latter in quest of her husband, who had gone as governor to the river of Palmas, and was supposed to have been lost or dead. When Zavalos arrived in

Mexico, instigated as is supposed by the members of the court, he lodged informations against all the soldiers of Cortes who had been concerned in the attack upon Narvaez. Of course nearly the whole of us who were in the city, and myself amongst the rest, amounting in all to about two hundred and fifty, were apprehended, brought to trial, and convicted. We were sentenced to pay a fine of a certain quantity of gold, and to be banished to the distance of five leagues from Mexico. However the sentence was but slightly enforced, the banishment being remitted and very few paying the fine.

The enemies of the Marquis del Valle now took a new ground of attack against him, which was, that he had embezzled the treasure of Montezuma and Guatimotzin, and that he was answerable to the soldiers, not only for that which he had appropriated to his own use, but also for that which he had sent to Europe as a present to his Majesty, and which had been captured by the corsair Juan Florin. A long catalogue of other demands followed, every one of which he was condemned upon, and his property sold for the payment. One Juan Xuares his brother-in-law was also at this time brought forward, to demand justice in open court for the murder of his sister Donna Catalina, offering to produce witnesses of the manner of her death. Many of us the friends of the Marquis, seeing the attacks that were made against him, met by appointment and under the licence of an alcalde, at the house of one Garcia Holguin, where we entered into a resolution to renounce all claim to the treasure; but when the oydors heard our business, they ordered us all to be arrested, as they alleged, for meeting without permission. We produced to them the licence which we had obtained for the purpose, but they, to keep up appearances, banished us to the distance of five leagues from Mexico. We were however allowed to return; though we still thought ourselves hardly treated enough.

New matter for confusion was now brought forward; a

proclamation was issued that all persons of Indian descent, or of that of Moors, who had been burned or [1] ensanbenited by the holy inquisition, as far as the fourth degree from their ancestors who had thus suffered, should quit New Spain within four months from the date thereof, on pain of losing one half of their properties. It was most wonderful to see what hosts of accusers and informers started up at once on this occasion, and what slanders and infamies were brought forward. At last it ended in the expulsion of two individuals.

The court was generous in fulfilling his Majesty's commands, in regard to the old conquerors, who were all well provided for; the greatest error it committed was, the excessive license given to the branding slaves. So many were made in the province of Panuco that it became almost depopulated. The president Guzman, who was of a noble and liberal disposition, made a new year's gift of a whole district named Guazpaltepeque, to Albornoz who was newly returned from Spain. He brought with him his Majesty's patent, under which he erected some sugar works in Cempoal, which went to ruin after a few years. The oydor Delgadillo was censured on account of his free gifts, for it was noticed that some rent was reserved to himself in them, and the consequent extortions and oppressions of those he patronised were excessive. The conduct of Guzman was equally reprehensible; as to the other oydor, Matienzo, he was superannuated. The abuses of this court came at length to such an excess, that it was thought proper by the higher powers in Europe, completely to supercede it, and substitute one composed of persons of more discretion. Old Matienzo who was the least objectionable, was sent to Panuco to enquire into and remedy the abuses which had been committed there. This officer ordered accounts or lists of the slaves to be drawn out, to prevent them from being arbitrarily transported from one province to another, and he revoked the grants which the president and the other oydor had made to

[1] San Benito; a dress put on criminals.

their friends and clients, bestowing the plantations upon those persons who were pointed out by his Majesty's instructions. Every one then who had acquired the plantations which they were to deliver up, insisted that they had been granted as a reward of former merits, the proofs of which they endeavoured to adduce, and utterly disclaimed all patronage or protection from the president and oydor. The confusion was extreme. However many if not almost all succeeded in keeping what they had got, the only persons deprived being Albornoz of his new year's gift, one Villaroel, and Villegas.

As soon as the members of the court heard that they were to be superceded, they resolved to dispatch agents to Castille with plenty of witnesses, such as were fit and well prepared for their purpose, to vouch for the propriety of their conduct. It was determined to proceed to the election of the agents who were to be sent on this occasion, and for this purpose all the veteran conquerors, with many other persons of consideration, met in the great church, where the person was to be chosen by vote. Guzman and the oydors recommended the factor Salazar, and although they had committed some improprieties, yet as they had in the main acted so well by us in the distribution of property, we were all well inclined to vote for the person recommended by them, and which they expected us to do. When we had all assembled for the purpose in the great church, there was such a noise and outcry set up by persons who had no business there, but had crouded in, that it was hardly possible to proceed to the election. It was ordered that all who had not been summoned should quit the place, but it was to no effect; they would not go, and at last the question was obliged to be put to the whole. Since those who had no business there would neither quit the place nor be silent, it may be judged what kind of an election it was. When we perceived how matters were going, it was agreed amongst us to adjourn until the following day, at the house of the president of the council, and none were

summoned but persons of one way of thinking. Of course it was amicably decided. In consequence of an adjustment, two agents were to be chosen, one, Anthonio de Carvajal, on the part of the oydors, and another, Bernardino Vasquez de Tapia, on that of Cortes. However it appeared to me that both were equally devoted to the views of the president; and it was natural enough, for the latter had rendered much more service to our interest in his short time, than Cortes had done during the long period of his power. But such is the natural loyalty of the Spaniards, that we were more attached to Cortes, from his having been our captain, than he was to our interests, although he had his Majesty's orders to attend to them. Of this a proof now occurred, for the president and oydors intrigued for an application to be made to his Majesty, in manner of a petition, against the appointment or return of Cortes to New Spain, at any future time. The grounds upon which they moved it were, the dangers that would occur from public disturbances and factions, which might end in the loss of the country. This we opposed with all our might, and Alvarado, being at this time arrived in Mexico with the office of governor and adelantado of Guatimala, and a commandery of St. Jago, it was agreed between him and the friends of Cortes, to lay before his Majesty a statement of the whole affair, with the views of the members of the council; and it hereby appearing to the supreme court of the Indies, that all these measures were guided by passion and interest, it confirmed the original determination to supercede Guzman and the oydors. The presence of Cortes in Spain also at this period was highly favourable to his interests, and he now was rapidly proceeding to the pinnacle of his fortune.

When Nuno de Guzman had received certain intelligence from Old Spain of his being superceded, he determined to go upon an expedition to the province of Xalisco, now called New Gallicia. For this purpose he collected the greatest force that he was able in Mexico, partly of volunteers, and partly of such as he compelled to join him by the weight of

power of which he was not yet deprived. Those who did not serve personally he compelled to find, or pay for substitutes, and those who had horses were obliged to give them for half their value. He brought with him a number of Mexicans as soldiers, or to convey his baggage, and cruelly oppressed the provinces through which he passed. In Mechoacan he obtained a great quantity of gold, which the inhabitants had collected and amassed for ages past; it was much lowered in value by a mixture of silver. The unfortunate chief of the province, not being able to gratify his avarice to its full extent, he first commanded him to be put to the torture by burning his feet, and afterwards upon some trifling and false allegations caused him to be hanged, which was one of the wickedest and cruellest actions ever committed by an officer, and as such it was considered by every Spaniard in his army. He brought from this province also a number of natives loaded with booty, to the city of Compostello, which he founded at a heavy expence to his Majesty and the inhabitants of Mexico. Here Guzman remained until his arrest.

As I have before related, in consequence of the injustice practised by the former court of audience, his Majesty was pleased to suppress it and cancel all its grants. He also appointed a new one, composed of wise and upright members, whereof D. Sebastian Ramirez de Villaescasa bishop of St. Domingo was president, and the licentiates Maldonado de Salamanca, Zainos de Toro, Vasco de Quiroga de Madrigal afterwards bishop of Mechoacan, and Solomon de Madrid were oydors. These officers being arrived, the court opened its sittings, which was notified by a proclamation, in consequence whereof there assembled such crouds of complainants, from city, towns, and country, of all descriptions, settlers, agents, and native chiefs, alledging acts of partiality and oppression against the former court, and demanding justice, that the members were quite astonished. The demands of the agents of Cortes for what had been unjustly

alienated from him, if they had been all to be now repaid, would have amounted to above two hundred thousand crowns. Nuno de Guzman being absent, the whole blame was laid upon him by the other members of the old court, who alledged that they were compelled to act as he thought proper to order them. He was accordingly summoned to appear, which he did not think proper to do, and in the present circumstances it was judged most expedient to refer the affair to the supreme court in Europe: which being done, a civil officer named Torre, a licentiate and native of Badajos, was sent with full power, to the province of Xalisco, and with orders to transmit Guzman to Mexico and commit him to the common goal. He had also a commission to indemnify us in the costs which we had been fined upon the affair of Narvaez, and those at the time that we were arrested, as I have already related. But I will now take leave for the present of the licentiate Torre, and return to the affairs of the court.

The properties of Delgadillo and Matienzo were sold to pay the damages of those who had gained their causes against them, and their persons were imprisoned for the deficiency. A brother of Delgadillo who was alcalde major in Guaxaca, was fined and imprisoned for the same reason; he died in jail, as did another who was alcalde amongst the Zapotecans, and certainly the new judges were so wise and just, that they considered nothing but what was in compliance with the will of God and his Majesty. They also shewed a laudable anxiety for the conversion of the Indians to our holy faith, and immediately prohibited the branding them for slaves, and made many other good regulations. After four years thus employed, the oydors Solomon and Zaynos petitioned for leave to retire, being both of an advanced age, and very wealthy, and his Majesty in consideration of their eminent services, was pleased to grant their request. The president also, by command of his Majesty, repaired to Europe, to give an account of the affairs of this country. He

was then bishop of St. Domingo, but was advanced in succession through the sees of Toro, Leon, and Cuenca, with such celerity, that the bulls had hardly a day's interval between them. He was also president of the royal chancery of Valladolid, and while in possession of these honours he was seized by death, and placed in glory among the virtuous, according to the promise of our holy faith, for he was a true and upright judge. He had been before his promotion to a bishopric, inquisitor in Seville. The good conduct of the oydor Maldonado was rewarded with the government of the provinces of Guatimala, Honduras, and Viragua, and with the title of adelantado of Yucatan, and the oydor Quiroga obtained the bishopric of Mechoacan. Such were the rewards of the good judges! Delgadillo and Matienzo returned to Castille in poverty, where, as I have heard, they died in the course of two or three years.

At this time his Majesty was pleased to appoint to the vice-royalty of New Spain, the most illustrious and worthy cavalier of praise worthy memory, D. Anthonio de Mendoza brother to the Marquis of Montejar. There also came as oydors the doctor Quesada, the licentiate Tejada de Logrono, and the licentiate Loaysa native of Cuidad Real; he was an old man, and stayed three or four years in Mexico; and during that time having collected a good sum of money, he took his leave of the country at the expiration of it, and returned to his home. There was also another licentiate who came out as oydor, who was named Santillana; but the licentiate Maldonado had not then vacated his office. All were excellent magistrates. As soon as they had opened the court, free enquiry was proclaimed into the conduct of their predecessors, which was found to be in every respect comformable to justice.

The Viceroy, on his arrival, knowing that the licentiate Torre was sent out with orders to arrest Nuno de Guzman, to save Guzman from that insult sent to him to come to Mexico, which he having complied with, the Viceroy assigned

him apartments in his palace, and treated him with much politeness. Just about this time Torre arrived with his Majesty's orders to arrest Guzman, but with directions to communicate them to the Viceroy. It seems that the licentiate did not find the support to his strong measures that he expected, and this exasperating his natural violence, he in consequence went to the Viceroy's palace, and there furiously seized, and dragged Guzman to the common jail, saying he did it by his Majesty's order, and that he cared for nothing further. Here Guzman remained for several days, and was at last released on the intercession of the Viceroy. It was well known that Torre had strong powers given to him to act discretionarily in regard to Guzman.

This licentiate was much addicted to card playing, although he did not game deeply, playing only at triumpho and primero for pastime. His propensity being however well known, some friend of Guzman's took advantage of it, to mortify and turn him into ridicule, and the method which was taken to do it was as follows. The civilians at that time wore gowns with loose hanging sleeves, into one of which somebody maliciously put a pack of cards, and contrived it in such a manner, that as Torre was walking across the crouded square of Mexico, in company with several persons of quality, a dexterous twitch being given, the cards began to drop from his sleeve, leaving a long trail of them after him as he went on. Those who saw it laughed and called the attention of others to the cards coming out of the licentiate's sleeve; but when he found out what the joke was, and that he was the subject of it, being naturally choleric, it enraged him exceedingly, and he went off saying he saw clearly it was their intention to prevent his doing justice, but he would, though he died for it; and that his Majesty should know the indignity that had been offered to his officer. Either from vexation, or a calenture natural to the climate, with which he was seized just after this, he died in the course of a few

days, whereby the affair of Guzman, luckily for him, was respited for the present.

Cortes having now been a long time in Castille, married to the niece of the Duke of Bejar, advanced to the rank of marquis, captain general of New Spain, and admiral of the South Seas, became anxious to return to his estates in this country. He now embarked from Old Spain with his family and twelve reverend fathers of the order of mercy, and after a prosperous voyage arrived at the port of Vera Cruz, where he did not experience the kind of reception he formerly met with. From thence he proceeded to Mexico, to present his patents to the Viceroy, and enter upon his offices. He also at this time made application upon a particular point relative to his Majesty's grant of lands and towns. This point, which I do not well understand, I must leave to better judges. The grant ran thus; mentioning the district, it enumerated the inhabitants, by the word "vecinos," or neighbours, considered to belong to it, and who were to be his tributaries. Cortes understood that the head of the family only was considered as the vassal or "vecino," or that one only should be counted for each house, but the oydor, doctor Quezada who was sent to allot his district, insisted that every male adult, master or head of family, son, servant, or slave, was to be counted in the number, and as there were frequently twelve or fifteen of those to one house, the Marquis was much disappointed, and several lawsuits ensued. The matter was reported to his Majesty, but continued in suspence for several years, during which time the Marquis received his full rents, without any molestation. He retired to a place upon his estate named Quernavaca, where he established his residence, never returning to Mexico.

While Marcos de Aguilar had the government of New Spain, the Marquis del Valle fitted out four ships at Zacatula. They were well provided, loaded with various articles of merchandise, and commanded by Alvarado de Saavedra, who

with two hundred and fifty soldiers took his course for the Molucca and Spice Islands, and China. This was by his Majesty's command, as I can testify, the royal letters having been shown to me and many others. He was further ordered to cause search to be made during the course of his voyage, for a squadron which had sailed from Castille for China, under the command of Don Garcia de Loaysa, commander of St. John of Rhodes. At the time that Saavedra was preparing for his expedition, a vessel arrived belonging to this fleet, from the pilot and crew of which Saavedra acquired all the information he wanted, and taking one pilot and two sailors from this vessel with him, he set sail in December, of one thousand five hundred and twenty seven or twenty eight, and sustained many misfortunes, hardships, and losses, in the way to the Molucca Islands. I do not know the particulars, but in three years afterwards I met with a sailor who had been on board this fleet, and who told me many strange and surprising things of the cities and nations he had seen, during his voyage. These are the countries to which they are now sending expeditions from Mexico. I also heard that the Portugueze had made prisoner Saavedra or some of his people, and brought them to Castille.

In the month of May, one thousand five hundred and thirty two, the Marquis del Valle sent two ships from the port of Acapulco, to make discoveries in the South Seas. They were commanded by a captain named Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who, without going far to sea, or doing any thing worthy of relating, had the misfortune of a mutiny among the troops, in consequence whereof, one ship, of which the mutineers took possession, as is said, but very improbably, by the approbation of Hurtado himself, returned to New Spain, to the great disappointment of Cortes. As for Hurtado, neither he nor his vessel were ever more heard of.

After this, Cortes sent off two other vessels, one of which was commanded by a gentleman named Diego Bezerra de Mendoza; he was of the Bezerras of Badajos or Merida; the

other was commanded by one Hernando de Grijalva. The principal pilot was one Ximenes, a Biscayan, and a great cosmographer. The orders from the Marquis were, first to go in search of Hurtado, and in case of not finding him, to go upon a voyage of discovery of new islands, especially those which were reported to be rich in pearls. The Biscayan pilot, before they sailed, was always telling the others how he would bring them to countries where they should all make their fortunes. Many were weak enough to believe him. The first night after they left the port of Guantepeque, a gale of wind rose and separated the vessels, which never afterwards joined company, Grijalva not choosing to be under the command of Bezerra, who was very haughty. He had also another motive, in wishing to keep the merit of any discoveries he should make, to himself. After sailing two hundred leagues, he came to an island which was uninhabited, and which he named Santo Tome. Bezerro and his pilot Ximines had a quarrel upon their voyage, and the former having made himself very odious by his domineering disposition, the pilot formed a plot for the assassination of him and several more, which he put in execution one night as the captain and the others were sleeping. The sanguinary views of the conspirators went much farther, but the intercession of two Franciscan friars saved the lives of many who were already bleeding from their treachery, but whom, together with the friars, they determined to land in Xalisco. Ximines taking the command upon the death of Bezerra, and continuing his route, discovered an island to which he gave the name of Santa Cruz. It was said that pearls were found on its coasts. It was inhabited by savages, and here he determined to put the friars and those whose lives had been spared at their intercession on shore, which he accordingly did, and being in want of water, he went to the shore at the same time in search of it; they had been on the island but a very short time when the natives came down upon them, and

put every person they found to death, in view of those on board the ship.

This gave the Marquis great vexation. He now determined not to trust any one, but to go in person, having three ships ready to launch in the port of Guantepeque. When the Spaniards of those countries saw that he intended to embark upon a voyage of discovery, they thought success was certain, and numbers prepared to follow him as soldiers, above one hundred and thirty of whom were married men, and brought their wives with them. They were in all above three hundred and twenty, the women included. The Marquis left Mexico accompanied by Andres de Tapia and several other officers, some ecclesiastics, physicians, surgeons, and an apothecary, and having embarked, in the month of May, one thousand five hundred and thirty six, or seven, he set sail for the Island of Santa Cruz, with as many colonists and soldiers as the vessels could contain; and having arrived there after a prosperous voyage, he sent back the ships to bring the remainder of his people. The second voyage was not so fortunate. They met with gales of wind, in which they were separated near the river of St. Peter and St. Paul, one vessel only arriving at the Island of Santa Cruz, where the Marquis anxiously expected them, as the provisions, of which he began to be in great want, were on board. Of those vessels which did not join him at Santa Cruz, one was stranded on the coast of Xalisco, and the people on board being tired of the business quitted her there, most of them returning to New Spain. This was the one which contained the provisions. The other came to a bay which they named, from the quantity of guayavas, Guayaval.

During this time the Marquis and those with him were famishing upon this uncultivated island. Twenty three of the soldiers died from absolute distress, and the rest were sinking every day, and cursing his expeditions and discoveries. Their situation and murmurs compelled him at length to go in search of his ships, and he accordingly embarked with fifty

soldiers, and judging that they must have been driven on the coast in the storms, he searched in that direction, and after some time found one as before mentioned, stranded on the coast of Xalisco, and abandoned by the people. The other was met with by him amongst some rocks. Having got them repaired and afloat, with much trouble, he brought them to his Island of Santa Cruz, and a quantity of provisions being now served out to the famished soldiers, they eat thereof in such a manner that the half of them died.

The Marquis, in order to avoid such a scene of distress, embarked in pursuit of new discoveries, and during this voyage fell in with the land of California. He was by that time as heartily tired of the business as any one, but he could not bear the thoughts of returning after such expences and losses, without having effected something, lest his misfortunes should be ascribed to the curses of the conquerors of Mexico, his ancient companions.

The Marchioness del Valle, hearing of the loss of one of the vessels on the coast, grew very apprehensive, and accordingly fitted out two ships, which sailed under the command of one Ulloa, in search of the marquis and his squadron, with letters from his lady and the Viceroy earnestly soliciting his return. Ulloa was fortunate enough to light upon him, and the Marquis suffered himself to be prevailed upon, and returned to Mexico by the port of Acapulco, leaving Ulloa in command of the squadron. His return rejoiced the Spaniards, who feared always that the native chiefs, not being awed by him, would break out into revolt. In a short time after his arrival, the people whom he had left in California returned, but I cannot say whether in consequence of orders from the government or not.

After the Marquis had reposed for a few months, he fitted out another expedition of two ships under the command of Francisco de Ulloa, already named by me, who sailed from the port of Natividad in the month of June, of I forget what year, with orders to examine the coast of California, and to

search for Captain Hurtado who never had been heard of. Ulloa employed in this voyage about seven months, at the expiration of which he returned to Xalisco, without having effected any thing; and going for a few days on shore to repose, a soldier who bore a malice against him took an opportunity to way-lay and assassinate him, and thus ended the discoveries of the Marquis del Valle, in which he expended, as I have heard him declare, above three hundred thousand crowns.

In order to get some allowance from his Majesty for this loss, he determined to go to Castille; he had also other business which called him there, such as the dispute about his vassals, and the restitution of his property which had been seized by Nuno de Guzman, now prisoner in Old Spain. I will conclude this account by observing, that it appears that the Marquis never prospered from the time of his first conquest of New Spain, and his ill fortune is ascribed to the curses with which he was loaded.

The Viceroy and court of royal audience had sent out a military force commanded by an officer named Francisco Vasquez Coronado, who married the virtuous and fair daughter of the treasurer Estrada. Coronado left his government of Xalisco to an officer named Onate, and after he had been for some months in the country to which he was sent, and which was named Celibola or the seven cities, a Franciscan friar named Marcos de Nica, returned from thence to Mexico to give an account of the country to the Viceroy. He described it as consisting of fine plains full of herds of cattle, but which were quite different in their appearance from those of Castille. The houses he described as having two stories and stairs, and the towns as being populous. He also represented, that as it lay near the Pacific Ocean, a supply of necessaries could be sent to the Spanish force, conveniently, in that direction. It was for this reason that three ships were sent thither under the command of Hernando de Alarco, an officer in the Viceroy's household.

I must not omit to mention the particulars of the great armament prepared by Don Pedro de Alvarado, in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty seven, in the port of Acaxatla on the Pacific Ocean. This fleet was fitted out by Alvarado in consequence of permission obtained from his Majesty, by whom he was granted certain rents and advantages, in such countries as he should discover towards the west; that is to say China, the Moluca, and Spice Islands.

Alvarado being always zealous for his Majesty's service, as appeared by his conduct in Mexico and Peru, was anxious that this expedition should exceed any other that had ever been fitted out. It consisted of thirteen sail, amply provided. The port at which the preparations were made was above two hundred leagues distant from that of Vera Cruz, from which all the iron, and most other necessary articles were to be brought by land carriage. The consequence was, that the money expended would have built eighty such ships in Seville. All the wealth Alvarado brought from Peru, what he got from the mines of Guatimala, with the rents of his estates and the presents of his friends and relations were insufficient, although the merchandize was taken upon credit. The expence attending the ships was nothing in comparison to that of his army, consisting of six hundred and fifty soldiers with their officers, and a number of horses, of which latter a good one could not be procured for less than three hundred crowns. Alvarado sailed some time in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty eight, for the harbour of the Purification in the province of Xalisco, where he was to take in water, and embark more soldiers. When the Viceroy heard of this great armament, he became anxious to have a share in it, and went with Alvarado to view his fleet, after which they returned to Mexico.

Alvarado wished to have a relation of his own, named Juan, (not the Juan de Alvarado of Chiribito) as general, and the Viceroy was anxious that an officer named Villalobos should have the command, conjointly with him. Things

were in this state when Alvarado was obliged to return to his fleet at the port of Natividad; and being there, and just ready to set sail, he received a letter from Christoval de Onate who was left in command at Xalisco, in the absence of Francisco Coronado, requesting his immediate assistance to save him and the settlement from the destruction with which they were threatened, by the force of the neighbouring Indians of Cochitlan. Alvarado set off with his troops to their relief, and found them in a most desperate situation indeed. The insurgents rather decreased the violence of their attacks upon the appearance of Alvarado's force, but still hostilities were carried on, and one day that Alvarado was pursuing some of the enemy among the rocks and mountains where they had retreated, a soldier who was on horseback at a considerable height above him on the side of a mountain, and whose horse had lost his footing, came, horse and all, rolling down the precipice, and striking Alvarado, brought him down with them. By this accident he was so much bruised, that in consequence thereof, and of being removed too suddenly to the town of the Pacification, he was seized with fainting fits, and in the course of a few days gave up the ghost. God pardon his sins! some say that he made a will previous to his death, but it never appeared. He was buried with as much ceremony as could be bestowed upon his funeral, and his remains were, as I have heard, afterwards removed to the town of Piripito by Juan de Alvarado his relation.

As soon as the news of his death was known to his fleet and army, numbers discharged themselves, and returned to their homes with what they had received. In Mexico he was greatly regretted. The Viceroy sent off immediately the licentiate Maldonado, to take proper steps to prevent any confusion likely to ensue, and shortly after following in person, collected what remained of the soldiers, and marching against the insurgents in the rocks, after a tedious expedition succeeded in reducing them. The loss of Alvarado

was severely felt in his family. As soon as the fatal intelligence arrived in Guatimala, the Bishop D. Francisco Marroguin of excellent memory, and all the clergy, assisted in rendering him the funeral honours. His major domo also, to shew his sorrow, caused the walls of his house to be painted black, which colour they remained ever after. Many cavaliers waited upon his lady Donna Beatrix de la Cueva and her family, in order to console them, for their distress was very great. They told her that she should give thanks to God, since it was his will to take her husband, to which she as a good christian assented, but observed, that she wished to be free from this melancholy world, and all its misfortunes.

These circumstances I mention, because the historian Gomara attributes the unfortunate event which shortly afterwards befell her, to her having spoken blasphemously, in saying that God could do her no more injury than she had already suffered. She met with her death in the following manner. A deluge of water and mud broke from the Volcano which is at the distance of about half a league from Guatimala, and bringing with it great quantities of large stones and trees, overwhelmed the house of Donna Beatrix, who was at the time praying with her women. As to the words which Gomara ascribes to her, she never uttered them, nor was her death a judgment of God in any respect. But I must observe the particularities of the fate of this family. Although Alvarado and his four brothers had served his Majesty so zealously, not any part of his property descended to his children. D. Pedro de Alvarado died as I have related, by an uncommon accident in Cochitlan; his brother George died in the city of Madrid, in the year one thousand five hundred and forty, being then soliciting his Majesty for some reward; Gomez de Alvarado died in Peru, Gonzalo de Alvarado in Mexico or Guaxaca, I forget which, and Juan on his voyage to the Island of Cuba. His eldest son going with his relation Juan de Alvarado the younger to wait on

his Majesty, and solicit a recompence for his father's services, the ship wherein they went was lost, and neither they nor it were ever heard of after they set sail. Don Diego the younger son, seeing his fortunes desperate, returned to Peru, where he died in battle, and the lady of Pedro de Alvarado, with the female part of his family, one only excepted, were drowned by a torrent from a Volcano. Now curious readers reflect on what I have related of the fate of this family, and may our Lord Jesus Christ take them into his holy glory! amen. The only survivor, Donna Leonora one of his daughters who was saved from the torrent, has caused to be built two sepulchres in the great church of this city of Guatimala, to receive the bones of her relations.

In about a year after the death of D. Pedro de Alvarado, the Viceroy collected the best of the thirteen ships which composed his fleet, and sent them under the command of an officer named Villalobos, to make discoveries to the westward, but what the result was, I never heard. As to the expences incurred by Alvarado he never recovered any part of them, nor his family after him.

The Marquis del Valle being in Spain at the time of the expedition against Algiers, and attending his Majesty in it, with his eldest son, and also Don Martin his son by Donna Marina, the fleet was dispersed in a storm. The vessel on board which the Marquis was being stranded, he, his sons, and the other cavaliers reached the shore with very great difficulty. His servants have related, that before he quitted the vessel, he tied round his arm in a handkerchief a quantity of jewels of inestimable value, which he wore according to the custom of great lords, as we say "para no menester," or because they are not wanting, but in the confusion of quitting the vessel by some accident they were all lost. On account of this disaster to the fleet, the council of war were of opinion to raise the siege immediately. To this council the Marquis was not summoned, but he is said to have declared, that had he been present at it he would have given his vote for the

continuation of the siege, and that if it had been his fortune to have had such brave soldiers as those who first accompanied him to Mexico, he would entertain no doubt of success.

The Marquis was now grown old, and he was worn down by fatigues; he was therefore very anxious to return to New Spain, but a treaty of marriage was on foot between his eldest daughter Donna Maria Cortes, for whom he had sent to Mexico, and Don Alvaro Pinez Osorio son and heir to the Marquis of Astorga. The lady was to have a fortune of a hundred thousand ducats, and the Marquis had gone as far as Seville to meet her on her arrival in Spain, but the match was broken off, as it is said, by the fault of Don Alvaro. The Marquis was greatly displeased, and being in a bad state of health before, he declined so rapidly that he found it necessary to retire from Seville to Castileja de la Cuesta, to attend to his soul, and make his last testament. Having arranged all his affairs for this, and the next world, it was the Lord's will to take him from this troublesome state, on the second day of December one thousand five hundred and forty seven. He was buried with great pomp in the chapel of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, but his remains were afterwards, according to his will, brought to New Spain, and interred in Cuyoacan or Tezcuco, I am uncertain which. In regard to his age, I will give the best account that I am able. In the year one thousand five hundred and nineteen, when we went with him from Cuba to New Spain, he used to tell us that he was thirty four years of age; from one thousand five hundred and nineteen, to one thousand five hundred and forty seven, is a period of twenty eight years, which makes him at the time of his death exactly sixty two years old.

The legitimate children of the Marquis del Valle were, Don Martin the present Marquis, Donna Maria before mentioned who married the Count de Luna de Leon. Donna Juana, who married Don Hernando Enriquez heir to the

Marquis of Tariffa, and Donna Catalina de Arrellano, who died in Seville. These ladies came with the Marchioness from Mexico; her brother Fray Anthonio de Zuniga being sent for them. One daughter named Donna Leonora, was married in Mexico, to a rich Biscayan named Juanes de Tolosa, which alliance gave great offence to the young Marquis. He also left two natural sons, one by Donna Marina, named Don Martin, who was commander of the order of St. Jago. The other, Don Luis, who was a commander of the same order, was the son of a lady, by name, De Hermosilla. He had also three natural daughters, one by an Indian woman of Cuba, was named Donna——Pizarro; the others were by a Mexican woman. These ladies were all left great fortunes. The Marquis also having due time, took care of his soul, by discharging his sins; endowing an hospital in Mexico, and a monastery of nuns in his own town of Cuyoacan.

The motto and arms which were granted to him were well adapted to a valiant warrior. The former being in Latin I will say nothing about, because I do not understand that language. His arms were the heads of seven kings in a chain, representing Montezuma, Cacamatzin, Guatimotzin, Tulapa, Coadlavaca, and the princes of Tacuba and Cuyoacan.

I will now proceed to describe the person and disposition of the Marquis. He was of a good stature and strong build, of a rather pale complexion, and serious countenance. His features were, if faulty, rather too small; his eyes mild and grave. His beard was black, thin, and scanty; his hair in the same manner. His breast and shoulders were broad, and his body very thin. He was very well limbed, and his legs rather bowed; an excellent horseman, and dexterous in the use of arms. He also possessed the heart and mind, which is the principal part of the business. I have heard that when he was a lad in Hispaniola, he was very wild about women, and that he had several duels with able swordsmen, in which

he always came off with victory. He had the scar of a sword-wound near his under lip, which appeared through his beard if closely examined, and which he received in some of those affairs. In his appearance, manners, transactions, conversation, table, and dress, every thing bore the appearance of a great lord. His cloaths were according to the fashion of the time; he was not fond of silks, damasks, or velvets, but every thing plain, and very handsome; nor did he wear large chains of gold, but a small one of prime workmanship, bearing the image of our Lady the Blessed Virgin with her precious son in her arms, and a Latin motto; and on the reverse, St. John the Baptist with another motto. He wore on his finger a ring with a very fine diamond, and in his cap, which according to the fashion of that day was of velvet, he bore a medal, the head and motto of which I do not recollect; but latterly he wore a plain cloth cap, without any ornament.

His table was always magnificently attended and served, with four major domos or principal officers, a number of pages, and a great quantity of plate both gold and silver. He dined heartily at mid-day, and drank a glass of wine mixed with water, of about half a pint. He was not nice in his food, nor expensive, except on particular occasions where he saw the propriety of it. He was very affable with all his captains and soldiers, especially those who accompanied him in his first expedition from Cuba. He was a Latinist, and as I have been told, a bachelor in laws. He was also something of a poet, and a very good rhetorician; very devout to our Holy Virgin, and his advocates St. Peter, St. Jago, and St. John the Baptist in particular; and charitable to the poor. When he swore he used to say, "by my conscience!" and when he was angry with any of us, his friends, he would say, "oh! may you repent it." When he was very angry, the veins in his throat and forehead used to swell, and when in great wrath, he would not utter a syllable to any one. He was very patient under insults or injuries; for some of

the soldiers were at times very rude and abusive with him; but he never resented their conduct, although he had often great reason to do so. In such cases he used only to say, "be silent," or, "go away in God's name and take care not to repeat this conduct, or I will have you punished." He was very determined and headstrong in all business of war, not attending to any remonstrances on account of danger; an instance of which he shewed in the attack of those fortresses called the rocks of the Marquis; which he forced us to scale, contrary to our opinions, and where neither courage, counsel, or wisdom, could give any rational hope of success. Another instance was given by him of his obstinacy in regard to the expedition against De Oli. I repeatedly advised him to go by the mountains; but he persisted in adhering to the coast, whereas if he had gone in the direction that I proposed he would have found towns the whole way, of which the following route is a proof; Guacacualco, the high road to Chiapa, from that to Guatimala, and from thence to Naco. Where we had to erect a fortress, Cortes was the hardest labourer in the trenches; when we were going into battle, he was as forward as any.

Cortes was very fond of play, both at cards and dice, and while playing he was very affable and good humoured. He used frequently at such times, those cant expressions which persons who game are accustomed to do. In military service he practised the most strict attention to discipline, constantly going the rounds in person during the night, visiting the quarters of the soldiers, and severely reprehending those whom he found without their armour and appointments, and not ready to turn out; repeating to them the proverb, that "it is a bad sheep which cannot carry its own wool." On our expedition to Higueras I perceived that he had acquired a habit which I had never before observed in him, and it was this; after eating, if he did not get his siesta or sleep, his stomach was affected, and he fell sick. For this reason, when on the journey, let the rain be ever so heavy, or the sun ever

so hot, he always reposed for a short time after his repast, a carpet or cloak being spread under a tree, on which he lay down, and having slept a short time he mounted his horse and proceeded on his journey. When we were engaged in the wars during the conquest of New Spain, he was very thin and slender, but after his return from Higueras he grew fat, and acquired a belly. He at this time trimmed his beard which had not begun to grow white, in the short fashion. In his early life he was very liberal, but grew close, latterly; some of his servants complaining that he did not pay them as he ought, and I have also to observe that in his latter undertakings he never succeeded. Perhaps such was the will of heaven, his reward being reserved for another place; for he was a good cavalier, and very devout to the Holy Virgin, and also to St. Paul and other Holy Saints. God pardon him his sins; and me mine; and give me a good end which is better than all conquests and victories over Indians.

Chapter x.

Enumeration and account of the valiant companions who passed over to the conquest of New Spain with the most adventurous and magnanimous Don Hernando Cortes Marquis of the Valley. Advantages resulting from the conquest—Transactions at court. Concluding observations of the author.

In the list of the conquerors of Mexico the first is the Marquis Don H. Cortes; with him came the following officers and soldiers. Don P. de Alvarado, commander of St. Jago, adelantado and governor of Guatimala, Honduras, and Chiapa; he was about thirty four years of age when he came to this country, of a handsome person, very chearful countenance, and mild look; for which reason he was called by the Mexicans, "Tonatio," which signifies the sun; he was very active, and a good horseman; of a generous disposition, and courteous manners, very splendid in his dress, wearing a gold chain with a medal round his neck, and a diamond ring on his finger.

F. de Montejo was of the middle stature, of a chearful countenance, and gay disposition; at the time of his arrival here he was about thirty five years of age; he was fitter for business than war, and of a liberal turn, expending more than he received; he arrived to the dignity of adelantado and governor of Yucatan, and died in Castille.

Captain G. de Sandoval was at the time of his arrival here about twenty two years of age; he was joint governor of New Spain for about eleven months; in this officer courage and judgment were combined; he was robust in body, his legs rather bowed, and his countenance masculine; his hair and

beard were curled, and of a light brown; his voice was rough, and somewhat terrible, and he stammered a little; he was a plain man, and one who did not know much of letters, not avaritious of gold, but attentive to his business like a good officer, seeing that his soldiers did they duty well, and taking good care of them. He was not fond of rich dresses, but went plain and like a soldier. He had the best horse that ever was seen; he was a chestnut, with a star in his forehead, and his near foot white; his name was Motilla; he became a proverb, so that when any horse was extraordinarily good, we used to say he was as good as Motilla. Sandoval was an officer fit for any station; he was a native of Medellin, and an hidalgo; his father was an alcalde of a castle.

Don C. de Oli was a Hector in battle, but his judgment was not equal to his valour, and he required to be kept under command. The captains De Alvarado, De Sandoval, and De Oli, were in high estimation with his Majesty, who was pleased to say that he had three in New Spain who might be compared with the greatest the world had produced. Cortes also used to talk highly of his officers and soldiers, but what Bernal Diaz del Castillo thinks upon the subject is this; that if what Cortes afterwards said in their favour, he had written at first to his Majesty, he would have done right; but at that time he made no mention of our valiant actions, nor even our names; but only said, "this I did; this I ordered to be done;" whereas I think the least he should have done was to make mention of us. I will now return to my enumeration of our officers and soldiers.

J. V. de Leon, native of Old Castille, was about twenty seven years of age, well proportioned, and robust; his beard was red and curled, his voice rough and fierce, and he stammered a little; he was a cavalier of good manners, and generous, sharing what he had with his companions; he killed a person of consequence in the Island of Hispaniola, for which he was obliged to conceal himself, and the officers of justice never were able to apprehend him, he made such

resistance. He was most valiant both on horseback and on foot; he died at the bridge.

D. de Ordas, from the neighbourhood of Campos, was about forty years of age; he was captain of the soldiers armed with sword and buckler, not being a horseman; he was very valiant, and wise, strong, and of good stature, of a masculine countenance, and black thin beard. In speaking there were certain words which he could not pronounce; he was generous, and of good manners. He was commander of St. Jago, and governor of Maranion, where he died.

Captain L. Marin was valiant, and stout built; bow legged, with a red beard, and a full and chearful countenance, slightly marked with the small pox. He was about thirty years of age, and a native of St. Lucar, lisping a little, like the Sevillians. He was a good horseman, and of mild manners; he died in Mechoacan.

Captain P. de Ircio was of middle stature, chearful countenance, and duck legged; a great boaster of his exploits, but by what we could perceive in him good for very little; he was always repeating certain stories of the Count de Urena, and Don Pedro Giron; we used to call him Agrages without deeds; he was for a time captain under Sandoval during the siege, and died in Mexico.

A. de Avila was of a good person and countenance, clear and sensible in his conversation, very valiant, and about thirty three years of age. He was free with his companions, but proud, fond of commanding, and impatient of controll, with a considerable share of envy, and turbulence, insomuch that Cortes could not bear to have him near him; he therefore took care that he should be employed in such affairs as would draw him to a distance; he was uncle to the cavaliers the sons of Benavides, who were beheaded in Mexico; he died in that city or in Yucatan.

A. de Monjarez was of middling stature, and a good countenance; he acted as captain during the siege, but was always

an invalid; he was aged about thirty years, and died a natural death.

C. de Olea was a native of Medina Del Campo, and a most valiant soldier; he was about twenty six years of age, of the middle stature, with a masculine but pleasing countenance; his hair and beard a little curled, and a clear voice; this soldier's bravery was such that we all held him in the highest honour; he saved the life of Cortes at Suchimillico, when the enemy had seized and were carrying him off to sacrifice; and a second time upon the causeway of Mexico when he was in a still more desperate situation, being wounded and in the hands of a number of the Indians, the brave De Olea, though mortally wounded, with his sword killed and beat off every one of these who were upon Cortes, thus saving his general's life, and losing his own at the same time. When the person of this valiant soldier recurs to my mind, and the manner he used to fight at our sides, the tears flow from my eyes, for he was my towns-man, and we were related to the same families.

G. Dominguez, and Lares, were soldiers of high renown, and might be put in comparison with Olea; the first died by the fall of his horse, the second at the battle of Otumba.

A. de Tapia was aged about twenty four years, of a pale complexion and grave countenance; he was a valiant captain, and died in Mexico, a natural death.

J. de Escalante was a captain; he died at Villa Rica. F. de Lugo, a brave officer, acted as captain occasionally; he was the natural son of a wealthy gentleman at Medina del Campo; he died a natural death. Gregorio de Monjaraz; a good soldier; lost his hearing during the siege, and died a natural death. Four brothers of Don P. de Alvarado. J. Xaramillo was an officer of merit; he died a natural death. Christoval Flores, a worthy soldier. Christoval de Gamboa, equerry to Cortes. One Calcedo, a wealthy man. Francisco de Bonal, a good soldier. Maldonado, surnamed "the broad," a good soldier. Francisco Alvarez Chico, a man of

business. Francisco de Torrazas, major domo to Cortes, a person of merit. Christoval del Corral, our ensign; an officer of merit. Anthonio de Villaroel, some time ensign. Alonzo de Grado; one fitter for business than war; by his importunities he induced Cortes to give him the daughter of Montezuma in marriage. Francisco Flores, a very noble person. De Solis. There were four of this name; one was surnamed, "casquete," or "rattle-skull;" another called himself "De la Huerta;" but we called him "silk coat," because he prided himself on his dress. Another was named "De atras la Puerta," because he always sat behind the door of his house, observing the passengers in the street. Bernardino Vasquez de Tapia; a person of wealth and consequence. Juan Lopez de Ximena, alcalde major of Vera Cruz. Juan de Cuellar, a good horseman, married the handsome daughter of the Lord of Tezcuco, named Donna Anna. Another Cuellar related to F. Verdugo. Santos Hernandez, whom we used to call "the good old ranger." Pedro Moreno Medrano, alcalde in Vera Cruz, a good soldier, and an upright judge. Roman Lopez, a person of eminence. Juan de Limpias Caravajal, grew deaf during the siege, where he was captain of a vessel. Melchor de Galvez. Villandrando, said to have been related to the Count of Ribadeo. Ossorio, a good soldier. Rodrigo de Castaneda, a good soldier. Juan de Naxara, a good soldier. Ojeda, who lost an eye during the siege. Alonzo Hernandez Puertocarrero, cousin to the Count of Medellin. Hernando Burgueno, a good soldier. Tirado de la Puebla, a man of business. Hernandes de Alanis, a very brave soldier. Navarrete. Juan Flamenco. Francisco del Barco, promoted to be a captain. Juan Perez, who killed his wife, the daughter of La Baguera. Najara, "the hump backed," a most valiant soldier. Madrid, "the hump backed;" a very valiant soldier. Juan de Inhiesta. De Alamilla, a good crossbow-man. Moron; a fine musician. De Varela; a good soldier. De Villafuerte; a person of consequence, married to a relation of the first wife of

Cortes. Gutierrez. Pacheco; a person of distinction. Hernando de Lerma, or de Lema; a captain. Suarez the elder, who killed his wife with a blow of a hand-mill. Lasios, who had a suit about his district. Garci Caro. One Ximenes. Amaya. Two Carmenos, brothers. One Vargas. Polanco. Juan de Aragon. St. Estevan. Bernardino de Coria. Rodorigo Rangel. Almodova, his son, and nephew. A reverend father of the order of mercy, named Fra Bartholome de Olmedo; a great theologian, a fine singer, and a virtuous man. Two nephews of Alonzo Hernandez de Palo. Christoval Diaz; a good crossbow-man. Juan Siciliano. Diego de Coria. Juan Sedeno. Saragossa, father to the scrivener in Mexico. Diego Martin de Agamante, a good soldier. Diego Hernandez, lost his sight; he was an assistant shipwright. Alvaro Lopez. One Yanez who went to Higueras; during his absence his wife took another husband with whom he left her. Martin de Alpedrino, Juan Alvarez Rubazo, Gonzalez Sanchez, brave men, all Portugueze. One Avila. One Espinosa, surnamed "De la buena benedicion," from his often using the word. Peron de Toledo. One San Juan. Aparicio Martin. Izguierdo; a good soldier. Morrales, an old man, lame of a leg, alcalde in ordinary at Villa Rica, and a strict doer of justice. Arevalo, Juan Leon, Madrigal; inhabitants of Villa Rica; never were on service. Navarro. Manzanilla, an Indian of the islands. Benito Vejel, a drummer who had served in Italy. Alonzo Romero. Pedro Lopez; a good soldier. Juan Garcia, Hernan Martin, and another; smiths. Alvaro Gallego. Pedro de Tapia. Lorenzo Ginoves. Ochoa; a rich and eminent person. Martin Vasquez, a man of eminence. Sebastian Rodriguez, a crossbow-man and Trumpeter. Penalosa. Juan Perez Artiaga, surnamed "Malintzin;" a rich man. Pedro Gonzalez Sabiote, a good soldier. Aguilar whom we found at the point of Cotoche; a good soldier. Pedro Valenciano. One Tariffa. Another of that name called by us "the meritorious," because he was always bragging of what he had

done, and that he had not been properly rewarded; a prating fellow. Pedro Sanchez Farfan; a brave soldier; he acted as captain. Escobar the bachelor, apothecary, surgeon, and physician; he went mad. Juan de Caceres the rich. Gonzalo Hurones. Ramirez the elder. Astorga. Tostado. Pedro Valencia. Fray Juan de las Varillas, of the order of mercy; a good theologian, and a virtuous man. Those enumated above all died naturally. Francisco de Saucedo, called "the gallant." Francisco de Morla, a very brave soldier. De Lares, a good soldier and horseman. Another of that name. De Solis, an old man. Benitez, a brave man. Juan Ruano, a good soldier. Two nephews of Gonzales de Najara. Gonzalo Dominguez, very brave and an excellent horseman. One De Mora, a good soldier. Juan Alvarez Chico. A good soldier who had lost one hand in Castille by the course of justice. One Tobillo, lame, as he said by a wound received while serving under the great captain. Gonzalo Lopez de Ximena. One Pilar, a good linguist. Alonzo Luis, a good soldier; being very tall he was called "the infant." Alonzo de Monroy, a good soldier, son of a commander of St. Stephen; he went under the name of Salamanca. Juan Rico de Alanis, a good soldier. Martin de Vendabal. Pedro Gallego. Three soldiers of the name of Truxillo, brave men. De Valladolid. De Angulo. Francisco Gutierrez. Santa Clara. One Ximenes. Two brothers of the name of Florin. One Vargas. One De Cieza, remarkable for pitching a bar. Bartholome Pardo. Arbolanche, a very brave soldier. A nephew of one Almodovar. Two brothers by name Martinez; brave men. Sancho de Avila who is said to have brought six thousand crowns in gold to Castille from St. Domingo, having had the luck to fall on some very rich mines there; he lost the whole at play and then joined us. Alonzo Hernandez de Palo, Alonzo de la Mesta, and Rabanal Montanez, good soldiers. Retamales: Gines Nortes, a brave soldier. Luis Alonzo, an excellent swordsman. Alonzo Catalan, a good soldier. Canillas, a

drummer, and a good soldier, having served in Italy. Hernandez, secretary to Cortes. Juan Diaz, belonged to the general's household. Balnor. Cardenas, who said he was son to a commander. Arguello, a good soldier. Vasquez, a brave soldier. Arroyuelo. Pizarro; a relation of Cortes, acted as captain; his name was not then remarkable, nor had Peru been heard of. Magellanes, a brave soldier, a Portugueze, as was another, a goldsmith. One Avila. Two of the name of Espinosa. One of the name of San Juan, called "the lofty," from his presumptuousness. Caceres, a good soldier. Escanola the younger. Alonzo de Talavera, a good soldier. An Indian of the islands named Manzanilla. Galleguillo, a very little man. A smith whose name I forget. Paredes. Gonzalo Mexia Rapapello, who said he was descended from the corsair of that name in the reign of King John. Lucas Ginoves. Cervantes, a buffoon. Plazuela. Alonzo Perez Maite, a brave soldier, married to a handsome Indian of the islands. Alonzo de Escobar, a person of consideration, formerly page to Velasquez. Ponce. Mendez. An old crossbow-man a great card player whose name I forget. The page Orteguilla and his father. Gaona. Luis Farfan. Morillas. One of the Tostados. Porras, a fine singer, with a very fair complexion. Ortiz; he played on the fiddle and taught dancing. Serrano, a good soldier. Quintero. Andres de Mola. Alberza, a good soldier. Most of these lost their lives at the bridge, were sacrificed, or fell in battle.

Simon de Cuenca was killed at Xicalonga, with ten more soldiers. Francisco de Medina died in the hands of the Indians with fifteen more. One De la Serna, who discovered silver mines, I do not know what is become of him. Martin Lopez, the ship carpenter who rendered such eminent services; he is now living in Mexico. One Granado is now living in Mexico. Villa Lobos returned rich to Castille. Juan del Rio returned to Castille. Juan Gomez returned rich to Castille. Herman Lopez de Avila, a trustee of the effects

of the dead, returned very rich to Castille. Pedro Escudiro, Juan Cermeno, and his brother, all good soldiers. Gonzalo de Umbria a pilot. Francisco de Orozco; had been a soldier in Italy, and acted as captain during the siege of Mexico; I know nothing more of him. Mesa had been a canonier in Italy; was drowned in crossing a river, after the conquest. Luis Velasquez, and Martin Valenciano, died in the expedition to Higueras. Alonzo de Barrientos, Juan del Puerto a good soldier, died of disease. Pedro de Guzman, a brave soldier; it is said that on his journey to Peru, he and his whole family, servants and horses, were frozen to death. Cardenas; this was he who talked of the two kings; he was very troublesome to Cortes. The Emperor made him a grant of lands worth a thousand crowns a year, with which he returned to Mexico, but shortly after, died. Los Villanuevas; two brothers; Portugueze; I do not know what became of them. Villocinda, a brave soldier, put on the Franciscan habit. Alonzo de Herrera, a good soldier, he fought with Captain Figuero, and to avoid the vengeance of the treasurer, fled to the Indians of Maronon, by whom he was killed. Figuero was drowned going to Castille. Maldonado de Medellin, I do not know what became of him.

Lencero, a good soldier, had an inn on the road to Vera Cruz, turned friar. Sindos de Portillo, possessed large estates, which he sold, giving the money to the poor, and taking orders, led a holy life. Quintero a good soldier, attained great wealth, which he renounced for God's sake, and taking the Franciscan habit, led a holy life. Alonzo de Aguilar owned the inn between Vera Cruz and La Puebla; a rich man; he sold all his property for the service of God, and putting on the Dominican habit, led a holy life. Burguillos, a rich man, renounced his property, and entered the order of St. Francis, which he afterwards quitted. Escalante, a good soldier, of a gay disposition; he put on the Franciscan habit, but afterwards quitted the monastery, and entered again into the military service; but, in the course of

a month, resumed his friar's habit, and led a holy life. Gaspar Diaz, a wealthy man, renounced all for God's sake, and retired to the pine woods of Guaxccingo, where, in the most retired part, he made a hermitage for himself; in this course of life he reduced his body to a very weak state, by fasting and penance, and the fame of his austerities reaching the Bishop Juan de Zumarraga, he entreated him not to carry them to such an extreme. Several other persons also joined him, being induced by his example to lead holy lives; at the end of about four years, it was God's will to take them all from this world, to his heavenly glory. Lerma; a very valiant soldier; it was he who rendered such essential service to Cortes, in once saving his life; Lerma was afterwards obliged to fly, and seek refuge among the Indians from this very Cortes whom he had preserved, and who was exasperated against him, for reasons which, from regard to his honour, I will not mention; we never knew what became of him, but our suspicions were very bad. Pinedo, a good soldier, had been educated in the house of Velasquez; on the arrival of Narvaez, quitting Mexico to join him, he was way-laid and killed on the road by Indians; Cortes was suspected of having a hand in his death.

One Lopez, returned to Hispaniola. Alaminos and his son, Camacho de Triano, Alvarez de Huelva, Sopuerto del Condado, Cardinas, Umbria, Galdin, and several others, all pilots; Sopuerto, only, remained in Mexico; the rest being in dread of Cortes, because they had offered their services to Garray. Enreque, drowned himself, from despair and fatigue on a march. Zemudio, a very brave soldier, returned to Old Spain, on account of having wounded several persons in frays; he was there given the command of a company; he died in Locastil with many other Spanish cavaliers. Tariffa, the third of that name, called by us "of the white hands," because he was not fit either for war or labour; or any thing else except to prate about what had happened to him in Seville; he and his horse were drowned on

the march to Higueras. Escobar, a brave man but very turbulent; he was hanged for sedition and for violating a married woman. St. Jago, returned rich to Castille. Alonzo de Escobar, a person of estimation, formerly page to Velasquez. Saldanha and two more whose names I forget were killed in Tabasco. De Rojas, went to Peru. Guillen de la Loa, Andrez Nunez, Maisse Pedro el de la Harpa, and three more; the first died by a cannon shot, the others by the enemy, or course of nature. Alonzo Rodriguez, left good mines in Cuba; was killed at the rocks, together with Gaspar Sanchez, a brave man, nephew to the treasurer of Cuba, and six of the soldiers of Narvaez. Pedro de Palma, first husband of Elvira Lopez "the tall," was hanged together with a soldier named Trebejo, and a priest, for sedition, by Avila or Las Casas, after the death of De Oli, under whom they served; I was shewn the tree whereon they were executed, when returning from Higueras with Captain Marin. Many sea-faring men also came with us, and behaved very bravely in the wars, but not recollecting their names I do not put them down; I should run indeed into too great prolixity if I were enumerate and describe all the valiant soldiers who passed over with Cortes; but they were worthy to be recorded in letters of gold.

Last of all I put down myself, having been in this country antecedent to the coming of Cortes twice, and the third time with him, as I have related; and I give thanks and praise to our Lord God, and his Holy Mother the Virgin Mary, who preserved me from being sacrificed like the most of my companions, that I might now relate and make manifest our heroic actions, and enumerate by name our valiant captains and soldiers, who conquered this new world, thereby to prevent all the honour and merit from being unjustly ascribed to one person.

Of those who came with Narvaez, although several were very valiant men, I will say nothing, because my intention in writing this history, was but to record the heroic actions of

the soldiers of Cortes. I will therefore only describe Narvaez himself.

Narvaez was about forty two years of age, of tall stature and large limbs, a full face, and red beard, and agreeable presence; very sonorous and lofty in his speech, as if the sound came out of a vault; a good horseman, and said to be valiant. He was a native of Valladolid, or Tudela de Duero, and married to a lady named Maria de Valenzuela. He had a considerable property in the Island of Cuba, where he was a captain. One of his eyes was beaten out in the attack which we made upon him. This gentleman was said to be very close in his disposition. He went to Castille to lay his complaints against us before his Majesty, and obtained a royal grant of a government in Florida, where he was lost and all his property. Those who read the particulars of so many gallant officers and soldiers, such as I have now described them, frequently ask me how it happened that I should remember them perfectly, after the lapse of so many years. To which I reply, that it is natural enough that I should recollect the names of five hundred and fifty companions who were always together, in expeditions, in watches, in battles, and in skirmishes, and conversing with each other how such a one had been killed at such a place, and how others were carried off to be sacrificed. For this was the manner in which we communicated with each other, especially after we had come out of a bloody and doubtful battle. And there have been generals who knew the soldiers of their armies personally, even when there were as many as thirty thousand men; so says history of Mithridates king of Pontus, and another king of the Epirots, and of Alexander, and Hannibal of Carthage, and in our times of the valiant Gonzalo de Cordova called the great captain, and many others. I say farther, that I have their figures so perfectly pourtrayed in my imagination, that I could draw them as it were to the life, each of them in the manner he entered into battle, like the great Apelles, and these famous modern

painters Michael Angelo, or the far celebrated Burgales, who is said to be another Apelles. Glory be to God, and the Holy Virgin, who saved me from being sacrificed to idols, to make those things known!

Having enumerated the soldiers who passed with Cortes, and related in what manner they died, I have now to observe, that we were for the most part hidalgos, although some were not of such clear lineage as others, for all cannot be alike in this world, either in rank or in virtues. But whatever may have been the dignity of our birth, we made ourselves much more illustrious by our heroic actions in the conquest of this country, at our own proper cost, and without any support save that of our Lord Jesus Christ who is the true aid and succour. If we look into the antient history of our own country, we shall then see that many cavaliers arose to dignity and honours, by valiant and faithful services to their king; and I have observed that those who thus obtained these titles and dignities, did not go into the field without receiving pay and salaries for their service; and yet they were rewarded with houses and castles, and lands, and privileges, to them and their descendents in perpetuity. Also when his Majesty Don Jayme won parts of his kingdom from the Moors, he made grants thereof to those cavaliers who had assisted him in the conquest, from which period they derive their honours and blazons. Those also who served under the great captain and the Prince of Orange were rewarded in like manner, and we, even without his Majesty's knowledge, by our valour gained him this great country. I have here recalled this to recollection, that the world may consider and see our manifold, and good, and notable, and loyal services, to God and the King, and all Christendom, and let them be put in a ballance and weighed, and let it be decided if we are not as worthy of rewards and remunerations, as those cavaliers whom I have mentioned above. And as amongst those whom I have enumerated there were many valiant

companions, I was held in no inconsiderable degree of estimation in my day as a soldier.

Now curious reader reflect on my life, and in how many battles and dangers I have been, since I first came to this country, and how I was twice in the hands of the enemy who were carrying me off to sacrifice, and God gave me force to escape out of their clutches; besides the distresses by hunger, thirst, and fatigue, which occur to all who undertake discoveries in unknown countries.

It is now proper that I should relate the good effects of our exertions for the service of God and his Majesty, by our illustrious conquests, in which most of our companions lost their lives, being sacrificed to the idols Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatepuca. In the first place, we purged the land of its wickedness and evil customs, as for instance that of human sacrifice. By the accounts taken by certain reverend Franciscan fathers, the first who came here after Fray Bartholome de Olmedo, it appears, that in the city of Mexico, and some adjacent towns in the lake, they sacrificed every year above two thousand five hundred human beings, young and old. Of course in the whole extent of the country the number thus put to death annually, must have been much greater. Their various horrid practices of this nature exceed the powers of my pen to describe. Their cursed adoratories were so many that I bestow on all of them a hearty malediction; it seems to me that they resembled what we have in Castille, for as we see there in every city, holy churches, and hermitages, and chapels, so they had in this country their houses of idols, devils, and diabolical figures. Besides these, each native, male or female, had two altars, one by the place where he or she slept, the other at the door of the house, with chests containing idols large and small, stones, and stone knives, with books made of the bark of trees, in which were noted down their records of past times. They were much addicted to abominable practices, especially upon the coast,

and in the sultry provinces, where boys wore female attire. They eat human flesh, as we do beef which we buy in the market, and in every town they had wooden cages, wherein they kept and fattened those men, women, and children, who were destined for that purpose, as was the case with all those whom they took in their wars. Incest was common amongst them; and they were drunkards in an extreme. In the province of Panuco in particular, they took the wine into their bodies in the manner a medicine is administered, by means of a hollow cane; an unheard-of beastliness! They had as many wives as they pleased, and all these, and other abominations, it was the will of our Lord Jesus Christ that we should be the instruments to sweep from the land, substituting in their places, a good policy and the holy doctrine. It is true that after the lapse of two years, when the country was subjugated and civilized, certain worthy fathers Franciscans, of good example and doctrine came here, and were followed in three or four years by fathers of the order of St. Dominic, who completed what others had begun, but if it is duly considered it will appear that the meed and honour of destroying the evil customs of the land, in justice belongs to us the true conquerors, in preference to any other persons, even though they should be of the holy profession.

Since the destruction of idolatry, by the will of God, and with his holy aid, and the good fortune and sacred christianity of the most christian Emperor Don Carlos of glorious memory, and of our monarch and most fortunate sovereign, the invincible King of Spain, our lord Don Philip his dear and much beloved son, to whom may God grant years, and much increase of dominion, to be enjoyed by him during his fortunate and holy life, and to be transmitted from him to his posterity, there have been baptized in this country, all the natives, whose souls formerly were sunk and lost in the infernal pit. At present also as there are here many reverend fathers of the different orders, they go through the country preaching and baptizing, whereby the holy Evan-

gelists are firmly planted in the hearts of the natives, who confess every year, and those sufficiently advanced in the knowledge of the faith comulgate. The churches also and their altars are richly adorned, with all requisites for holy worship, as, crosses, and candlesticks, wax candles, chalices, cups, plates, and vessels for incense, all of silver. The ornaments of the altars and crosses are of velvet and damask, and other rich materials of various colours and workmanship, and embroidered with gold, silk, and pearls. The funerals also are distinguished by their emblematic representations of skulls and bones, and with their palls, some good, and others not so. Each town also has its bells, according to its ability. There are choirs also in the chapels, of good voices which sing in concert, tenors, and trebles, and counter-altos. In some places are organs, and most have flutes, hautbois, sackbuts, dulcimers, with trumpets base and treble, more in this one province of Guatimala than there are in my native country, which is Old Castille. It is a thing worthy to thank God on to see the devotion which the natives exhibit when at holy mass, especially if it is said by fathers of the orders of St. Francis, or of Mercy, who are appointed to the cures of parishes. All the natives also, men, women, and children, are taught the holy orations in their mother tongue, and when they pass a cross, crucifix, or altar, they bow, and falling on their knees say a Pater Noster or Ave Maria. We, the conquerors also taught them to keep wax candles lighted before the holy altars and crosses, for before our arrival they did not know the use of wax in making candles. We also taught them to behave with respect to the reverend fathers, and when they came to their towns, to go out to meet and receive them with lighted wax candles, ringing the bells, and giving them plentifully to eat; and thus they do. They have also other holy and good customs, for on the day of our Lady, or of Corpus Christi, and other solemn feasts, when we make processions, most of the neighbours of this city of Guatimala go in procession with crosses

and lighted candles, bearing the image of the saint who is their patron or patroness, as richly dressed as they can afford; and they go singing the litanies, and other holy orations, and sound their flutes and trumpets.

The natives of these countries have also learned the trades used amongst us in Castille, and have their shops, manufactories, and journeymen, and gain their livelihood thereby. The gold and silversmiths work both in cast metal, and by the hammer, and excel, as do the lapidaries and painters. The engravers execute first rate works, with their fine instruments of iron, especially upon emeralds, whereon they represent all the acts of the holy passion of our redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, in such a manner that those who had not seen them execute it, would not believe that such works could be done by Indians; insomuch that according to my judgment, that famous painter of ancient times the renowned Apelles, or the modern ones named Michael Angelo and Berruguete, and another a native of Burgos who is in great fame, being as they say a second Apelles, could not with their subtle pencils equal the works which are done by three Mexican artists named Andres de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz, and El Crespillo. In addition to all these things, the sons of the chiefs used to be grammarians, and were learning very well, until they were forbidden by the holy synod, under an order of the most reverend archbishop of Mexico, but many of them are now, notwithstanding, literate. They are also weavers of silk, stuffs, and cloths, and manufacturers thereof, through all the various stages. They have also learned to be hatters and soap boilers. Two trades only could never be acquired by them; one is, that of making glass, the other that of the apothecary; but this is not owing to any defect of natural genius, for they are surgeons, and herbalists, jugglers, and makers of puppets, and of violins. Tillers of land they were before our arrival; and now they rear stock, and break bullocks, and plow, sow wheat, manure, reap, sell, and make bread and biscuit. They have planted their lands and

inheritances with the fruit trees of Old Spain, and sell the fruit, cutting down the unwholesome peach trees, and overshading plantains, to make room for quince, apple, and pear trees, which they hold in high estimation. We have taught them also laws and justice, and in consequence, they every year elect their ordinary alcaldes, regidors, notaries, alguazils, fiscals, and major domos. They have their halls of common council, with bailiffs, where they meet two days in the week, judging, and sentencing, and for some offences punishing and whipping; but for murder and higher crimes, they refer them to the governors, if there is no court of royal audience.

I have further been told by persons well informed upon the subject, that in Tlascala, Tezcuco, Cholula, Guaxocingo, Tepeaca, and other great cities, when the natives go to council, gilt maces are borne before the governors and alcaldes, as is done before the viceroys, and they do justice with as much zeal and activity as is used among us, priding themselves thereon, and being very anxious to obtain a knowledge of our laws.

All the caciques have horses and are rich, and ride, handsomely caparisoned and attended by their pages, through and about their respective towns. In some towns also they exercise with the lance on horseback, run at the ring, and have bull fights, especially on the days of Corpus Christi, St. John, St. James, our Lady in August, or the patron or patroness of the town. Many also of them will face the bulls be they ever so fierce, and are excellent horsemen, especially those of a place named Chiapa de los Indios. Those who are caciques now breed horses, and use them and mules for ordinary purposes, conveying by their means, wood, maiz, and lime for sale. Many of the natives have likewise taken up the trade of arrieros or carriers, as is in practice in Castille. To conclude, they excel in all manufactures, not excepting that of tapestry.

Other advantages and profits are also derived from our illustrious services. By them our mother country has ob-

tained gold, silver, precious stones, grain, wool, sarsaparilla, and hides; all which are annually transmitted thither to the benefit of his Majesty's revenue. I do not include the presents we at various times sent, and that which is exported by merchants and passengers, for since the time that the wise King Solomon built the holy temple of Jerusalem with the gold and silver which he caused to be brought from the Islands of Tarsis, Ofir, and Saba, ancient or modern history do not record such treasures to have been derived from any country, as what have been sent from New Spain; and this I say, because although it is notorious that from Peru many millions in gold and silver have been obtained, yet at the time of the conquest of this country Peru was unknown, nor was it gained until ten years after. We also from the first continued to send to his Majesty most rich presents, for which and other reasons, I rate this country higher in estimation, because we well know that Peru has been involved in cruel civil wars, whereas we have remained, and will continue to do so, our breasts prostrate on the earth in submission and allegiance to our lord the King, and ready to expose and devote our lives and fortunes in his service.

Let the curious reader consider the number of cities of New Spain, which from their being so many, I will not detail; our ten bishoprics, not including the archbishopric of the noble city of Mexico, the three courts of royal audience, together with the succession of governors, archbishops, and bishops, our holy cathedrals and monasteries, Dominican, Franciscan, Mercenarian, and Augustin, our hospitals with the extensive remissions and pardons attached to them, and the Santa Casa of our Lady of Guadeloupe with the holy miracles there performed every day, and let us give thanks to God, and to his blessed mother our Lady, for giving us grace and support to conquer these countries, where so much christianity is now established.

Let it be also remembered, that in Mexico there is a university wherein are studied and learned grammar, theology,

rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and other sciences. There is also a printing press for books both in Latin and Romance, and in this college they graduate as licentiates and doctors; to which I might add many other instances to enhance the value of these countries, such as the mines of silver, and other discoveries, whereby prosperity and grandeur redound to the mother country. If all which I have now said does not suffice, let the wise and learned read my history from beginning to end, and they will then confess, that there never existed in the world men who by bold atchievement have gained more for their Lord and King, than we the brave conquerors; amongst the most valiant of whom I was considered as one, and am the most ancient of all. I say again that I,—I myself,—I, am a true conqueror: and the most ancient of all.

I will now propose a few questions by way of dialogue, with the immortal and illustrious goddess of Fame, who has seen, and proclaims through the world, our manifold, great, and remarkable services, to God, his Majesty and all Christendom, and cries with a loud voice, saying, that it is in justice and in reason, that we should have better estates and situations than others who have not served his Majesty here or elsewhere. The goddess also enquires where are our palaces, and mansions, adorned with distinguishing blazons, with sculptures of our coats of arms, and monumental trophies of our heroic actions, in the same manner as those cavaliers have who served their king in Spain, our atchievements being no way inferior to theirs, but on the contrary of most eminent merit, and not exceeded by any. The goddess of Fame also enquires for those conquerors who escaped from cruel deaths, and for the tombs and monuments of those who fell.

To these questions I reply as follows, with much brevity. Oh excellent and illustrious Fame! desired and sought for by the good and virtuous, but shunned and hated by the malicious, why do you not exalt us as our merits deserve? know, goddess, that of five hundred and fifty soldiers who

left the Island of Cuba with Cortes, at the moment that I am writing this history in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty eight no more than five are living, the rest having been killed in the wars, sacrificed to idols, or died naturally. In answer to your question concerning their tombs and monuments, I tell you that their tombs are the maws of cannibal Indians, who devoured their limbs, and of tigers, serpents, and birds of prey, which feasted on their mangled bodies. Such were their sepulchres, and such their monuments! but to me it appears that the names of those ought to be written in letters of gold, who died so cruel a death, for the service of God and his Majesty, to give light to those who were in darkness, and to procure wealth which all men desire.

The illustrous goddess next asks me for an account of those who came with Narvaez, and with Garray; to which I reply, that the number of the soldiers who came with the former was one thousand three hundred exclusive of the mariners, of whom not more than ten or eleven survive, the rest having fallen in the wars, and being sacrificed and devoured. Those who came with Garray, according to my account, including the three companies which landed at St. Juan de Ulua previous to the arrival of Garray himself, were in all one thousand two hundred soldiers, most of whom were sacrificed and devoured in the province of Panuco. Fame also asks for the fifteen soldiers who accompanied Lucas Vasquez de Aillon who lost his life on the coast of Florida; to which I reply that they are all dead. I also inform you Oh excellent Fame! that there only remain alive at this moment five of the companions of Cortes, and we are very old, and bowed down with infirmities, and very poor, and with a heavy charge of sons to provide for, and of daughters to marry off, and grandchildren to maintain, and little rent to do it withall! and thus we pass our lives, in pain, in labour, and in sorrow.

Having now answered your questions illustrious Fame

relative to our monuments, blazons, and palaces, I request of you that henceforward you exalt to more effect your most virtuous and excellent voice, in order that our high prowesses may be made known to the universe, and not be obscured as they are by the slanders of the malignant. To this my request most virtuous Fame replies, that she will do so most willingly; and also, that she is astonished to find that we have not the best properties allotted to us in that country which we conquered, and which it was his Majesty's orders should be given to us, in like manner as the Marquis Cortes was rewarded, not indeed to the same extent, but moderately. The goddess also says that the actions of the valiant and magnanimous Cortes are always to be most highly estimated, and considered amongst those most celebrated in history. She also at the same time observes, that in the histories of Gomara and the Doctor Illescas and others, no mention is made of any of us, but they only say, "Cortes discovered," and "Cortes conquered;" the captains and soldiers remaining unnoticed; but she has been very happy to find that all which I have narrated in my history is strictly conformable to the truth, and that I follow matter of fact closely and literally, without running into servile praises, and that I do not depreciate many valiant captains and soldiers to exalt one, as is the case with Gomara and the other historians. The good goddess also promises me, that she will proclaim these truths wherever she shall be, and further, that if this my history is published, it shall be credited, and its authenticity acknowledged wherever it is seen or heard, and that it shall obscure and annull all others.

Besides what I have here proposed by way of dialogue, a certain doctor, an oydor of the court of royal audience of Guatimala, asked me how it happened that when Cortes wrote to his Majesty, and also when he went the first time to Castille, he did not solicit for us, since we were, under God, the means whereby he acquired his marquisate and government. To this I then replied, and now say, that when his

Majesty gave him the government, he therewith received the better part of this whole country, believing that he was to remain absolute master thereof, and to have unlimited liberty to bestow or deprive as he thought proper; and this, it is supposed, was the reason why he would not and did not write on the subject. Also, at the time his Majesty gave him his marquisate, he solicited the government in the same manner that he had held it before; but it was then refused him, and he did not think of asking any thing that might be serviceable to us, but only to himself.

Further, the veedor and factor, together with other cavaliers of Mexico had represented to his Majesty, that the Marquis had taken for himself the best provinces and towns of New Spain, and had assigned others to his friends and relations newly come from Castille, leaving very little for the royal patrimony; whereupon, as we afterwards learned, his Majesty was pleased to order that all the overplus should be divided amongst us, the companions of Cortes, but the Emperor was at that time in Barcelona, preparing to embark for Flanders. Had Cortes immediately after the conquest divided this country into five parts, and assigned one of the richest and best of the fifths for his Majesty; allotted one share and a half for himself, for churches, monasteries, and municipal properties, as also for a fund wherefrom his Majesty could reward cavaliers who served him in Italy or against the Turks and Moors; and divided the other two fifths and a half, by grants in perpetuity to us, we should have been all satisfactorily provided for. As our Cæsar was so christian a monarch, and as the conquest of this country cost him nothing, he would have readily granted us these favours. But we at that time did not know how to apply for justice, nor to whom to represent our services or our injuries, except to Cortes himself, who did in the business as he thought fit. We therefore remained with the little which had been assigned us, until we saw that Don Francisco de Montejo who went to wait upon his Majesty in Europe

obtained the appointments of adelantado and governor of Yucatan, estates in Mexico, and other rewards. Diego de Ordas also, who went to court, obtained an encomienda of St. Jago, and districts in New Spain. Then Don Pedro de Alvarado went to kiss his Majesty's feet and was made adelantado and governor of Guatimala and Chiapa, commander of the order of St. Jago, and obtained districts of lands. Last went Cortes, who was created a marquis, and appointed captain general of the South Sea.

When we the conquerors therefore saw, that those who did not reach his Majesty's presence had no one to speak in our favour, we sent to petition that whatever lands thenceforward fell vacant, should be distributed in perpetuities amongst us, according as our claims were substantiated, as was the case before the first court of royal audience held in Mexico, whereof Nuno de Guzman was president. His Majesty's express directions to Nuno de Guzman were, to throw the whole property of New Spain into a mass, and then to make the divisions more equal, deducting in due proportion from the immoderate grants of Cortes. Also, that to us, the true conquerors should be given the best districts and of most rent, leaving the cities and great towns for his Majesty's property. The Emperor also ordered that the vassals of Cortes should be counted, leaving no more with him than his patent specified; but what was to be done with the surplus I do not recollect. The reason why Nuno de Guzman and the oydors did not make this repartition in perpetuity was, that they were misled by bad advisers, whom, not to dishonour, I will not name, but the persons I have alluded to told them, that if the conquerors once found themselves provided for, they would cease to respect and be dependent on them, as was the case while they were compelled to supplicate for a subsistence. As also, by retaining, they kept the power of bestowing the vacant lands at their pleasure, and to the advantage of their own private interest. It is true that as districts fell vacant, Guzman and the oydors

constantly assigned them to conquerors, and colonists, to their satisfaction; and if that court was superceded, it was on account of the disputes with Cortes, and of marking free Indians for slaves.

In the year one thousand five hundred and fifty, I being in Old Spain, the licentiate De la Gasca came from Peru, and with him D. Martin el Regente a Dominican friar; and repairing to the court which was then at Valladolid, his Majesty promoted the aforesaid father to the bishopric of Las Charcas. At this period a council was formed, composed of D. Fray B. de las Casas bishop of Chiapa, D. Vasco de Quiroga bishop of Mechoacan, and other cavaliers who came as agents from New Spain and Peru, together with some hidalgos who were brought by business to the court, and to this council I was also called, as being the most ancient of the conquerors of New Spain.

De la Gasca and the other Peruvians had brought with them great quantities of treasure, as well for their own use as for his Majesty, the latter being sent from Seville to Augusta in Germany where the Emperor then was, and in his company our most happy Don Philip king of the Spains, our lord his dear and much beloved son, whom God guard. At that time certain of the Peruvian cavaliers waited on his Majesty with the treasure, and to petition that he would cause the allotment of lands in perpetuity to be made. It seems also, that previous to this time a petition to the same effect had been presented from New Spain by Gonzalo Lopez, and Alonzo de Villanueva, who had been sent as procuradors or agents from Mexico. It so happened that just then the bishopric of Palencia fell vacant, and was bestowed on the licentiate De la Gasca who was also made Conde de Pernia, on account, as was said at the court, of the services rendered in Peru, which was then at peace.

His Majesty was pleased, in regard to the repartition of lands in perpetuity, to order, that the Marquis de Mondejar president of the royal council of the Indies, the licentiates

Gutierre Velasquez, Tello de Sandoval, Gregorio Lopez and Briviesca, and the Doctor Hernan Perez de la Fuente, oydors of that court, together with cavaliers of other royal councils should assemble, to consider, and see how the repartition should be made, as was best for the service of God and for his Majesty's interest.

When these cavaliers were met in the house of Pero Gonzalez de Leon, where was established the royal council of the Indies, it was proposed in that very illustrious assembly, that the perpetual repartition should take place in New Spain and in Peru; I am not certain that Grenada and Bobotan were included, but am inclined to think that they were, and the reasons offered in support of the measure were holy and good. It was argued that if the lands were granted in perpetuity, the proprietors would for their own interests treat the natives better, and pay more attention to the conversion of them to our holy faith. That if they suffered from sickness or misfortune they would be attended to like their children, and the rents alleviated. The proprietors would also go into improvements, planting vines and breeding cattle; disputes and litigations about lands and boundaries would cease, and the office of visitadors or inspectors would be unnecessary. The minds also of the soldiers would be tranquillized, in knowing that the presidents and governors had not the power of bestowing lands when they fell vacant, on their clients and favourites. His Majesty also in doing this would exonerate his royal conscience, in recompensing those who had served him faithfully. To these, many other good reasons were added. It was also proposed to deprive the turbulent and rebellious in Peru of their districts. After all this had been well debated and considered in the illustrious assembly, we proceeded to give our opinions in favour of the perpetual repartition.

It was then opposed by the Bishop of Chiapa, his associate Fray Rodrigo of the order of St. Dominic, the Bishop of Palencia, the Marquis of Mondejar, and two oydors of the

royal council of his Majesty. The Marquis of Mondejar did not however speak upon the occasion, but remained as it were on the look out to see which party was likely to carry the question. The arguments used by the others against the repartition were, that many in Peru had now life estates, who so far from deserving perpetuities, merited confiscation, and that if peace was once established in that country, if the soldiers who were unprovided for saw that there was no fund for that purpose, they would become mutinous and cause new troubles. The Bishop of Mechoacan who was of our party hereupon asked the licentiate De la Gasca, how it had happened that he did not chastize the mutineers as he very well knew them; whereas on the contrary he had given them lands. To this the other replied, laughing, that he had hanged and quartered many of them, and thought it no small atchievement to have escaped from amongst them safe and sound. More was also said on this subject.

It was proposed, and approved by many present, that the few of the real conquerors of New Spain who now remained, including those who came with Cortes, with Narvaez, and with Garray, should receive perpetuities, referring the other matter to future consideration. As soon as this proposition was made, the other party moved that all further proceedings should be postponed until the return of his Majesty to Castille, because in an affair of such importance his presence was necessary. It was then urged by the Bishop of Mechoacan and other cavaliers, as well as myself, that the perpetuities might be granted in New Spain, leaving the Peruvian procuradors to act as they thought fit, this being conformable to his Majesty's declarations and instructions in our favour. This now brought on much debate; for we insisted that whatever reasons might be against the granting perpetuities in Peru, could be of no avail against us in New Spain, considering our great services to his Majesty and all Christendom. But all we said was of no effect with the members of the royal council of the Indies, the Bishop Fray Bartholome de

las Casas, Fray Rodrigo his associate, and the Bishop of Las Charcas. They said that on the return of his Majesty from Augusta in Germany every thing should be arranged to the satisfaction of the conquerors, and thus the affair dropped for the present.

Intelligence of these matters being conveyed by express to Mexico, the conquerors there proposed to send procuradors, to apply to his Majesty for our interest, exclusively. In consequence, after my return from the court I was written to, here, in the city of Guatimala, by Captain Andres de Tapia, P. Moreno Medrano, and J. de Limpias Caravajal "the deaf," giving me an account of their intention, and of those conquerors concerned with them, amongst whom I was put down as one of the most ancient. I accordingly went round with the letter to the other conquerors settled in this city, to raise a sum by subscription for the purpose. This project failed from want of money. It was then determined that the conquerors in Mexico, conjointly with the whole of the community, should send procuradors to Castille; but neither was this carried into effect. At a subsequent period, our unconquered king and lord Don Philip, whom God preserve, and may he live many years in augmentation of power, was pleased to command by his royal ordinances that the conquerors and their posterity should be provided for, attending in the first instance to those who were married, as may be seen in the royal cedules.

When I had written out fairly this my history, two licentiates requested me to lend it to them for their perusal, in order that they might know in detail the occurrences which happened in the conquest of New Spain, and also that they might see what difference existed between my account, and those of Gomara and the Doctor Illescas, relative to the heroic actions of the Marquis Del Valle. I accordingly presented this book to them for their perusal, with the respect which is due to scholars from a poor illiterate person like myself, desiring them at the same time to make no alteration

whatever herein, as what I had written was the strict truth. As soon as they had read it, one of them who was a great rhetorician, and vain of his knowledge, began to praise the book, and expressed his surprise at my memory, and at my being able to carry in it such a series of matter, from the time I first came to these countries.

The licentiates also observed, that in regard to my stile or language, it was conformable to that in ordinary use in Old Castille, and that as such it was the more agreeable, not being embarrassed with flowery affected phrases, such as are made use of by historians in general. They also observed that it seemed to them as if I praised myself greatly, in the battles which I give an account of, whereas I ought to have left that to be done by others; and that I should have given my witnesses, testimonies, and quotations, as authorities for what I wrote, and not have said drily, "that I did; this I saw;" it not being conformable to the custom of historical writing; for I am not a witness for myself. To these observations I then replied, as I do now, that in the year one thousand five hundred and forty the Marquis Del Valle wrote a letter to his Majesty giving an account of me and my services, how I had come twice to this country on voyages of discovery previous to his expedition, how he had often been an eye witness of my conduct as a brave soldier in battle as well in Mexico as in other places, how I accompanied him in his expedition to Honduras and Higueras, and many other particulars which to avoid prolixity I will not relate. The most illustrious viceroy also, Don Alonzo de Mendoza wrote to his Majesty informing him of what he had learned relative to me from the captains by whose side I fought, and his account was in all respects conformable to that of the Marquis Del Valle. Proofs to the same purport were also presented on my part to the royal council of the Indies in the year one thousand five hundred and forty.

Now, said I, gentlemen licentiates, are not the Marquis Del Valle, the viceroy D. A. de Mendoza, and my proofs,

good witnesses? but if they will not suffice, I will produce you the Emperor our lord Don Carlos the fifth, who by his royal letter, sealed with his royal seal, commanded all viceroys and presidents, that respecting the many and good services which I had rendered, benefits should be conferred upon me and mine. The original letters are now in my possession, and the copies deposited at court in the archives of the secretary Ochoa de Luyado. Such was my answer to the observation of the licentiates.

But to return to my subject, if more testimony is wanting look at New Spain which is three times larger than our Castille, and more thickly inhabited by Spaniards, and the great wealth which it sends to Castille. But I have observed that the historians Gomara and Illescas never chose to relate our heroic actions, leaving all our value and honours in the dark, where they would have remained were it not for this my true history, and assigning such great merit to Cortes; in which, although they were right to a certain degree, yet they ought not at the same time to have forgotten us.

Of the achievements of Cortes a part also of the honour falls to me, for I was one of the most forward in every battle by his side, as I was in many others when he sent me under different captains to conquer provinces, as is found written in my history, how, when, and where.

Also when Cortes returned to Europe the first time, to kiss his Majesty's feet, he informed him that he had many valiant captains and companions in the Mexican wars, and who he believed did not yield to the most famous in ancient history. Of this praise a proportionate share falls to me. Further, at Algiers, he said much in praise of his companions the conquerors. Of this I come in for my portion, as I was one of them.

As to what the licentiates said, that I praise myself so much, and that I ought to leave it to be done by others, I say, in common life it is the custom of neighbours to speak of each other as each deserves; but he who never was in the

wars with us, nor saw them, nor heard of them, how can he speak of us? were the birds which flew over our heads while in battle to give accounts of us? or the clouds? who then was to speak our praises but we ourselves? Indeed gentlemen licentiates said I had you found that I detracted from the honour due to one of our valiant captains or soldiers, and ascribed it to myself, then you might justly blame me. But the fact is that I do not praise myself so much as I ought.

I will now make a comparison, although on one side the subject of it is very high, and on the other a poor soldier like myself. Historians say that the great emperor and warrior Julius Cæsar was in fifty three pitched battles. I say that I was in many more battles than Julius Cæsar, as may be seen in this my history. Historians also say that Julius Cæsar was brave and active in battle, and that when he had time, he at night committed to writing with his own hand, his heroic actions, although he had many historians, not chusing to entrust the office to them. Truly this happened many years ago, and may or may not be the case; whereas what I relate occurred yesterday as it may be said. It is therefore not extraordinary if I relate the battles in which I fought, that in future ages it should be said, "thus did Bernal Diaz del Castillo," in order that my sons and their posterity should enjoy the praises of their ancestor, in the manner that many cavaliers and lords of vassals in the present day, do the fames and blazons of their predecessors. I will however drop this subject lest the detracting malicious, to whom these things are odious, should charge me with digressing too much. There are also conquerors now living to contradict me if I were in error, and the world is so malevolent that any such thing could hardly pass without animadversion; but the narrative itself is the best testimony of its veracity.

I will now enumerate and particularise the various battles and other matters of warfare in which I was present. They are as follows. At the point of Cotoche, with Captain F. H.

de Cordova. At Champoton, a battle, wherein half our companions were killed. In Florida, where we landed to procure water. Under Captain J. de Grijalva, a second battle in Champoton. In my third voyage under Cortes, at Tabasco, two pitched battles. On our arrival in New Spain, the battle of Cingapacinga. Shortly after, three pitched battles with the Tlascalans. The affair of Cholula. On our entry into Mexico I was at the seizure of Montezuma; I do not mention it as an affair of war, but on account of its great boldness. In four months after, the attack upon Narvaez whom we under Cortes defeated with two hundred and seventy six men, he having one thousand three hundred. The relief of Alvarado who was besieged by the Mexicans, when they made war upon us during eight days and nights, and killed above eight hundred and seventy soldiers; I consider six battles as having happened during this period, at which I was present. The battle of Obtumba. A battle at Tepeaca. Under Cortes a battle at Tezcuco. Two field battles, in one of which I was wounded in the throat by a lance. Two actions concerning the fields of maize. In the expedition round the lake when we made that rash and inconsiderate attack upon the fortresses named the rocks of the marquis. The battle of Cuernavaca. Three battles at Suchimillco. The siege of Mexico which lasted ninety three days, during which I was engaged, as I find by my account, in above eighty battles and skirmishes. After the conquest when I was sent to pacify the provinces of Guacacualco, Chiapa, and the Zapotecans. In Chamula and Cuitlan, two engagements. In Teapa and Chimatan two engagements; here I was wounded badly in the throat. I forgot to mention in its place, how, after our flight from Mexico we were pursued for nine days, and fought four battles. In the Expedition to Higueras and Honduras, an action at Culacotu, where my horse which cost me six hundred crowns was killed. After my return to Mexico I went against the Zapotecans and Minxes in the mountains. I do not mention numberless

other engagements and dangers in which I have been, as it would be endless to detail them all. Nor do I chuse to say how I was one of the first who came to lay siege to Mexico, three or four days at least before Cortes.

I have therefore according to this account been present in one hundred and nineteen battles and engagements; and it is not extraordinary if I praise myself, as what I say is the mere truth. Nor are these old stories or histories of Romans, of many ages past; for evident and true are the many and notable services which I have rendered; first to God, then to his Majesty, and all Christendom; and I give thanks and praises to our Lord Jesus Christ, that I escaped from all dangers, to make these things manifest; and I also say, and praise myself thereon, that I have been in as many battles and engagements as, according to history, the Emperor Henry the fourth.

THE END